

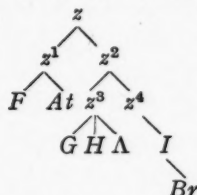
THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1921.

THE MSS. OF CALLIMACHVS' *HYMNS*.

(Continued.)

V. THE GROUP *z* (= *FAtGHAIBr*).



*F*¹ is Milan, Ambrosianus 120 (B 98 sup.); foll. III. (paper) + 227 (parchment); cmm. 25, 1 × 17, 8, with thirty lines to the page; cent. early XV. Contents: ff. 1^v-125^v, Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, with marginal and interlinear scholia; followed by his *Life*. 127, *Batrachomyomachia*. 132^v, Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer*.² 142^v, Maximus of Tyre, πῶς <ἄν> τις ἄλνπος εἴη (*Dissert.* XXXIV. Dübner). 145, Orpheus, *Argonautica*. 168^v, ἐπήκοοι· καὶ πρὸς ἐρπετὰ, i.e. Orpheus, *Lithica*, ll. 91-110, 115-140, 145-171, 176-202, 207-233, 238-266, 271-300, 305-332, 337-364, 369-398, 467-498, 500-531, 533-564, 566-774. 178^v-209^r, *Homeric Hymns* III.-XXXIII. 209^r, 'Homeric' epigram εἰς ξένους (Hom. *Epigr.* I. Baum.).³ 209^r-227^v, Callimachus, *Hymns*, with marginal and interlinear scholia. 227^v, four lines (ὕμνῳ τὸν ὑψίζυγον . . . τὴν παλαιτέραν).⁴ The manuscript is bound in leather. Marks of gatherings are lacking from the Callimachean portion. All the writing is in the same small and very neat hand. Ligatures abound. In the text, final letters (one, two, or three together, in full or abbreviated forms) are frequently written above those which precede them; in the same position, but in the middle of a word, *a* and abbreviated *ev* appear frequently; *ai*, *e*, *σ* or *s*, and abbreviated *ov* and *as*, rarely. *Iota subscr.* is not regularly employed. Horizontal supralinear strokes are used 38 times to indicate names of persons.⁵ The scribe was a careful copyist. His major errors, not found in the common stock either of the manuscripts in general or of the *z* group, nor shared with *G* and *H*, number only 25 (permutation of letters, 7; omission and insertion of letters, 15; mis-

¹ See E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan U. Hoepli; 2 vols., 1906); Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13. For the *Homeric Hymns* it is known as *D*.

² Cf. *At*.

³ Cf. *Q*, II, *At*.

⁴ See on II, *C.Q.* 1920, p. 105; and cf. *At* and *I*.

⁵ Cf. *H*, *A*, *I*, *Br* etc.

division of words, 3); his minor, 43 (including 35 of accent). Six times he corrects his word before completing it, thrice afterwards. Olgiatus saw this manuscript in 1603.¹

A² is Athos, Vatopedi, *cod. gr.* 587; foll. 247 (written ἐπὶ χάριτος ἀρχαίου παρεμφερούς μεμβράνης³); ἔχει δὲ μήκος μὲν 0, 27, πλάτος δὲ 0, 20, καὶ πᾶχος 0, 25;³ Dr. Mahaffy somewhat hesitatingly ascribed it to cent. XIII., Wilamowitz says it is assigned to cent. XIV. Contents: ff. 1-32, a Life of Sophocles, followed by *Ajax*, with scholia. 33-62^r, *Electra*, with scholia. 62^v-92, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, without scholia. 93^r-120^v, a Life of Euripides, followed by *Hecuba*, with scholia. 121^r-155^r, *Orestes*, with a few scholia. 155^v-190^v, *Phoenissae*, with a few scholia. 191^r-218, *Homeric Hymns* III.-XXXIII. (omitting VIII.), followed by 'Homeric' epigram εἰς ξένους (Hom. *Epigr.* I. Baum.).⁴ 219-224, Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer*.⁵ 225-247, Callimachus, *Hymns*, followed by four lines (ὕμνῳ τὸν ὑψίζυγον . . . τὴν παλαιτέραν).⁶ All the writing is in the same hand, except the scholia to *Electra*.

G⁷ is Vienna, Imperial Library, *gr.* 318; ff. 158 *et praeterea inter singulos auctores manipuli aliquot foliorum quae numeris carent*⁸ (paper), octavo; cent. XV. Contents: ff. 1-44, Phalaris, *Letters*. 45-55, Μιθριδάτου τῶν βρούτου ἐπιστολῶν συναγωγή. 56-71, Alciphron, *Letters*. 72-128, Pindar, *Olympian* and *Pythian Odes*, without scholia. 129-135, Musaeus, *Hero and Leander*. 136-158, Callimachus, *Hymns*, without scholia. This MS., as we learn from an entry in it, was bought at Venice for the Imperial Library in 1672 for sixteen florins.

H⁹ is Leiden, Vossianus 59; paper, with twenty-seven lines to the page in the Callimachean portion; cent. XV. Contents: Orpheus, *Argonautica* and *Hymns*. Pythagoras, 'Aurea carmina.' 56^r-75^v, Callimachus, *Hymns*, without scholia, followed by *Epigr. Anth. Dübner*, IX. 48.¹⁰ Then follow *Anth. Dübner*, III. (Appendix), Ch. III. 85; *Anth. Dübner*, XVI. 92 (= *Anth. Planud.* 92);¹¹ scholia on Homer's *Boeotia*; Musaeus, *Hero and Leander*; Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles*; 'versus in labyrinthum,' i.e. probably the epigram (*Anth. Dübner*, IX. 191) concerning Lycophron's *Alexandra*; Phocylides; Aratus, *Phaenomena*; Nicander, *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*; Phanocles' poem. In the Callimachean portion occurs only one mark of gathering (f. 67^v, the catch-word ὅστερον for IV. 172, written like those in Q and E). The hand is neat, but internal corrections are numerous, as are mistakes of accent and breathing, while mis-divisions number nearly 80. The mar-

¹ Martini and Bassi, *l.c.*

² See Mahaffy in *Athenaeum*, 1889, pp. 631 sqq.; Constantinides in *Class. Rev.* VIII. (1894), pp. 341-2, *The Athos MS. of the Homeric Hymns*; Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; T. W. Allen in *J.H.S.*, XV. (1895), pp. 149-150.

³ Constantinides, *l.c.*

⁴ Cf. Q, II, F.

⁵ Cf. F.

⁶ See on II, C.Q. 1920, p. 105; and cf. F and I.

⁷ See Schneider, *Praef.* XXXII.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden, 1716), p. 398; Schneider, *Praef.* XXXII.-XXXIII.

¹⁰ Cf. e.

¹¹ Cf. E.

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Λ² is
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Contents:
each *Hymn*
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I⁶ is
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Contents:
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conscripti m
Maia.¹¹ (e
ἐμφερομένω
(e) ff. 104^v
Dinarchus,
Λευκονοεύς
πρὸς τὸν Ν
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find there t

¹ Cf. F, A, I.
² See E. R.
codici greci Lat
del Bandini (in
Vol. I., Floren
XX. (1892), pp
³ *Saibantian*
tagno and F
(1363) (Nigra,
⁴ Cf. F, H, I
⁵ See Schn
Nigra, *lib. cit.*,
La Bibliothèqu
p. 151.

ginalia are almost exclusively proper names or epithets, drawn from the text; and horizontal supralinear strokes are used to indicate names of persons.¹

A² is Florence, Laurentianus 440;³ foll. 23 (paper); cmm. 20, 9 × 14, 1, with twenty-four (sometimes twenty-five) lines to the page; cent. XV. Contents: only Callimachus, *Hymns*, without scholia. The first letter of each *Hymn*, and that of each distich of *Hymn* V. are in red—majuscule in the former case, minuscule in the latter. The manuscript has neither variants nor annotations. It is entirely free from stains, and has scarcely any traces of corrections made by the scribe after erasure. Proper names of persons are marked with a horizontal suprascript stroke.⁴ *Iota subscr.* is rarely used. This manuscript belonged to the Ashburnham collection.

I⁵ is Vatican, *greco* 1379; foll. 114 (paper); quarto, with twenty-four (once twenty-five) lines to the page in the Callimachean portion. De Nohac states that it comprises five distinct manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Contents: (a) ff. 1-24, some poems of Theocritus ('*con un edyllio di più*' <che nell' altri, Orsini),⁶ Moschus, and Bion, with Simmias' *Syrinx* and Dosiadas' *Altar*. Theocritus has '*variantes marg., divisiones marquées par des traits à la plume et une notice métrique en tête de chaque pièce.*'⁷ (b) ff. 25-30, Βαβρίων ἑλληνος τετράστιχα: 30-1, Maximus Planudes, '*de cibis bonis et malis*':⁸ 32-3, Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ τρισημέστου περὶ σεισμῶν. Ἐν ἄλλῃ Ὀρφείως:⁹ 33, Euclid ἡμίονος καὶ ὄνος:¹⁰ 33-4, Σόλωνος ἐλεγεία. (c) ff. 35^r-57^v, Callimachus, *Hymns*, without scholia; at the top of 35^r '·χ· *hymnos aiunt edidisse summum Callimachum perdifficiles atque elegantiarum plenos. Moschus*'; and on 58^r 'Coraini (?) *conscripsi m. Georg. Mosch. Callimachi hymnos hosce anno Domini 1496 III cal. Maías.*'¹¹ (d) ff. 59-100, Κανονίσματα πάνυ ἀγαθαῖα ῥημάτων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐμφερομένων παρά τε ποιηταῖς καὶ ῥήτορσιν ἐκλεγέντα ἀπὸ διαφόρων βιβλίων. (e) ff. 104^v-106^r, Plutarch, *Life of Hyperides*: 106^v-107^v, Plutarch, *Life of Dinarchus*, and a decree from his *Life of Demosthenes* (Τιμοχάρης Λάχηςτος Λευκονοεύς· αἰτεῖ Δημοσθένη κτλ.): 111-136^v, Ἐπιστολὴ Πητοσίρῳ φιλοσόφου πρὸς τὸν Νεχεψῶ βασιλέα: 113^v-114^v, figures illustrating the last previous item. In the Callimachean portion there are no marks of gatherings. We find there three varieties of writing, of which (1) the first, that of the text, is

¹ Cf. F, A, I, Br.

² See E. Rostagno and N. Festa, *Indice dei codici greci Laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini* (in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, Vol. I, Florence, 1893), p. 207; Nigra, *lib. cit.*, XX. (1892), pp. 206-7.

³ 'Saibantianus 66, ex bibl. Caroli Millon' (Rostagno and Festa, *l.c.*); Ashburnham, 1440 (1363) (Nigra, *l.c.*).

⁴ Cf. F, H, I, Br.

⁵ See Schneider, *Præf.* XXXIII.-XXXIV.; Nigra, *lib. cit.*, XX. (1892), p. 205; P. de Nohac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), p. 151.

⁶ Orsini's Inventory, item 97 (de Nohac, p. 344); the fuller phrase in describing the Theocritus of Orsini, item 59 (= *Vat. gr.* 1311; de Nohac, pp. 340, 125).

⁷ De Nohac, p. 151.

⁸ Schneider, *l.c.*; cf. Galen's *περὶ εὐχόμεον καὶ κακοχόμεον διατρῆς*.

⁹ *Anth. Düb.*, Appendix, IV. 47, where it has 66 lines.

¹⁰ *Anth. Düb.*, Appendix, VII. 2, where it has 7 lines.

¹¹ So C. Dilthey *apud* Schneider, *l.c.* De Nohac, p. 151, interprets it as '*Corcyrae conscripsit*, etc.'

small and fairly neat. The scribe has seldom stumbled in writing the text; only 6 times does he show suprascript insertions (all of which *Br* embodies in its text); his other suprascripts and his three *marginalia* will be mentioned in dealing with *Br* as a copy of *I*. His only contractions are those for *ει* and *στ*; *ε* sometimes appears in the form *c*; he writes *ευ* and *εσ* continuously, and is, indeed, extremely fond of ligature, sometimes even binding the end of one word to the beginning of the next. *-σ* is preferred to *-ς* at the end of a line nearly twice in every three times. At times *iota subscr.* is overlooked. An accent is sometimes written in continuation of the letter to which it refers. Horizontal suprascript strokes appear 29 times, and mark the names of persons;¹ underlining is found with the adverbial forms *τοπρώτον* (III. 23, 113; V. 105; and even at IV. 298), *ταπρώτα* (IV. 22, 149; and at II. 58, 64), *ταπρώτιστα* (IV. 30), and *τοπαλαιόν* (IV. 37). A cross is set before IV. 30 (*ταπρώτιστα* underlined) and IV. 42 (a suprascript correction), and after V. 55 (unmetrical) and VI. 63 (second *κύνον* omitted); a short stroke before VI. 44 and 48 is inexplicable. Letters larger than the context, and projecting into the margin, begin I. 10, III. 26, 139, 140, 142, 158, IV. 99, 133, 141, 147, 217, 266; and the odd lines of *Hymn V.* have their initial letters in different ink from the rest. (2) At the end of VI. 23 (a blank line in the *z* group) *I* has *ιδέσθαι* in larger and finer script than the text, but clearly from the text-hand; *Br* accepts it, but writes it wholly beyond the range of the end of 22. (3) There is also in *I* a body of alterations and additions, which sometimes size of letters, hue of ink, or a certain sponginess in the letters, sometimes the presence of two or all of these features, distinguishes from the scribe's original text. The corrector has made 21 changes in the text of ff. 35^r-38^r (I. 1-II. 66) and 33 in that of 43^r-46^v (III. 168-IV. 89),² scoring through letters and accents, and often placing the letters he prefers in the margin, sometimes with a caret-mark prefixed. He has 17 times altered accent or punctuation, or added *iota subscr.*, or marked the division between two contiguous words; twice (II. 1, 38) he has scored through a suprascript or marginal note of the text-hand. After *Hymn VI.* he adds the four lines *ὕμῳ τὸν ὑψίζυγον . . . τὴν παλαιτέραν*.³ *Br* lacks these; of the alterations it gives the resultant only

¹ Cf. *F*, *H*, *A*, *Br*.

² I. 10 *παρνασίη* text (corrector *ρ* for *ν*), 12 *εὐλεινύνης* (*υλ* for *υ*), 41 *γυνολ* (*υλ* for *γν*), 46 *ἐταῖραι* (*ε*-, and *τα* for *ται*), 48 *λύκνυ* (*ει* for *υ*), 68 *θῆκας* (*ή*, and *ο* for *ς*), 68 *ὑπῆροχον* (*ει* for *ή*), 80 *κε* (*αι* for *ε*), 80 *λαξιν* (*δ*), 84 *εὐθρον* (*υ* for *ν*); II. 2 *οἶο* (*-α*), 10 *ἴδοι* (*-ει*), 12 *κίθαριν* (corrected in text-size from *-ν*: marg. *κίθαριν*), 19 *κίθαριν* (*κυ-*), 20 *ἀχιλέα* (*ή* for *ε*), 21 *τῇ* twice (*τῇ*), 33 *τά τ' ἀήμματα* (*τό τ'*), 51 *οἶσιν* (*ή* for *οἶ*), 52 *ἀγάλακτες* (corrected first by scribe from *-ος*: *τοι* for *τες*), 63 *ἐπεβάλλετο* (*ύ-*); III. 171 *οἰνωπόιο* (*ι-* for *οἶ-*), 175 *μῆνι* *ὄν* (*sic*) become united by a stroke, 179 *κεραελλέες* (*κεραελλ-*), 184 *ἐξοχον* (*-χα*), 188 *εὐρύποιο* (*ι* for *υ*), 195 *δὲ* put between *καὶ* and *σχεδόν*, 198 *νύμφην*

(*α* for *η*), 204 *ἀναξ* (*-σ'*), 205 *κρηταέες* to *κρηταέες* (the accent between *α* and *ι*), 215 *ἡνυσας* (*η* for *υ*), 221 *λύκον* (*βούκον*), 224 *ἀκρόρειαν* (strokes through *ν*), 231 *τεύκρυ* (*-ων*), 239 *φυγῶ* (*η* for *υ*), 244 *τετρήναντο* (*ον* for *αν*), 248 *εὐρυθέμειλον* (*-θέμειλον*), 250 *ρεῖα* (*έ* for *ει*), 260 *σῆν* (*τ-*), 260 *οἶνο* (*ει*), 261 *ἀπιμήσαντι* (*ά* for *ή*), 261 *πόλιν* (*πτ-*), 265 *ὥρων* (*ώα* for *ω*); IV. 4 *εἰέλοι* (*-ει*), 7 *δέσειο* (*-ει*), 10 *καίριος* (*κύνθιος*), 12 *αἰθύαις* (*εις* set above but scored out, text altered to *-ης*), 15 *ἐδάσαντο* (*νν* for *δ*), 16 *πρώτοις* (*-ησι*), 19 *οπισθεν* (*σ* deleted), 62 *ἐποπτεύοντες* (*ύ-*), 67 *θαύματος* (*το -αντος*), 72 *παρακείμεναι* (marg. *κ* to precede *λ*), 84 *δέξει* (*-ει*).

³ See on II, C.Q. 1920, p. 105, and cf. *F* and *At*.

at IV. 72,
in I I take
identical i
there, agr
παλαιτέραν
text's form
XXXIV.)
Cf. ad III.
De N
Corfiote G
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*Br*⁵ i
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¹ *Br* has i
² Orsini's
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MSS.; that
Callimachus
quaternions
machus app

at IV. 72, perhaps by its scribe's own conjecture.¹ The hand of the corrections in I I take to be that which wrote the text. Several of the letters in them are identical in form with those of the text itself; others, not so clearly matched there, agree in shape with the same characters written in ὑμῶ . . . τὴν παλαιτέραν—lines in which other letters manifestly accord in shape with the text's forms of them. Of the innovator's readings Schneider says (*Praef.* XXXIV.) 'correctorem moneo in ea re usum esse editione Aldina aliqua correcta. Cf. ad III. 205 et VI. 15.'

De Nohac (*op. cit.* p. 151) identifies the scribe of the text of I with the Corfiote Georgius Moschus, the brother of Demetrius Moschus, and adds 'On lit en effet à la fin: Corcyrae conscripsit m. Georgius Moschus Callimachi hymnos hosce anno Domini 1496 iij cal. maias. Cette note n'est pas une souscription du copiste; elle est de la main de Pietro Candido, qui a mis d'autres annotations curieuses et des variantes dans le reste du volume.' My own acquaintance with the manuscript extends only to ff. 35^r-57^v, and this note falls on 58^r. I must therefore accept de Nohac's association of Pietro Candido with the rest of the volume;² but I am not at all satisfied by the ascription of this note to Candido. That scholar was born in 1399;³ F. A. Eckstein⁴ places his death at November 12, 1477, and, if he did live to see 1496, is it likely that at ninety-six or ninety-seven years of age he was writing an inscription of this kind? Again, Keil's version of the note gives *conscripsi*, not *conscripsit*, thus making the entry, at least ostensibly, Moschus' own; and the date and the scribe's name may be accepted as true, failing any suggestion of motive for a false statement by the writer, whoever he was.

Br⁵ is British Museum, Burneianus 71; foll. 23 (paper), cmm. 22 x 13, 5, with twenty-four lines to the page; 'sec. fortassis XV exeuntis.'⁶ It contains only Callimachus, *Hymns*, without scholia. The hand is somewhat crabbed. Names of persons are indicated by horizontal supralinear strokes.⁶

All these seven MSS. (FaGHAIBr) bear a general group-relationship to each other. Having few details of At's and A's readings available, and only an imperfect, though much fuller, record of those of G, I shall first prove this

¹ Br has II. 21 Iη twice; III. 175 μῆπειν.

² Orsini's inventory (de Nohac, *op. cit.* p. 344) thus describes the MS.: '97. THEOCRITO integro et riveduto da Pietro Candido con un edyllio di più. Hymni de Callimacho. Osservazioni sopra le locutioni poetiche. PETOSIRIS epistolae ad Necepsum regem et altre cose, libro riveduto tutto da Pietro Candido, coperto di cartone, in papiro in -4° (my italics). That this volume is a composite of several originally detached MSS.; that f. 58 seems to go with ff. 35-57. Callimachus being thus gathered in ternions or quaternions; and that the alterations in Callimachus appear to come from the text-hand—all

these facts point to Candido's not having used his pen on the Callimachean portion of I.

³ F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 309, s.v. Decembrius; F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philologorum* (Teubner, 1871), p. 114.

⁴ L.c.; and 1477 is given by C. de'Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo* (Milan, 1808), III. p. 34. Mr. Hall (l.c.) is silent on the matter, and J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning*, 2nd edition, 1882, p. 266, says 1447; but later (p. 271) he quotes from a letter which Candido 'wrote to Poggio in 1453.'

⁵ See British Museum Catalogue.

⁶ Cf. F, H, A, I.

relationship as between *F*, *H*, *I*,¹ and *Br*, adding the readings of the other three where it is possible; later I shall show what are the subdivisions of the group, and to which sections *At*, *G*, and *A* respectively belong.

I. The group-relationship of *FHIBr* is shown by 69 cases in which a reading is found in them alone, or with *G* and *A* added. A discussion of these readings will indicate some characteristics of their common ancestor, *z*.² They fall under the following heads:

(1) Signs of a doublet in *z*—

III. 215 *ποδωρόρην G: ποδορρόρην FAIBr* with *cett.* and *Lasc.*: *ποδωρόρην H*.

(2) *z* incorporates a gloss in the text—

V. 120 *δώρα z(GA): γέρα cett.* *Lasc.*

(3) Permutation of words in *z*—

III. 138 *τῇ ἐνι γάμος μὲν λητοῦς FGIBr (ἐνὶ ΗΛ): τῇ ἐνι μὲν λητοῦς γάμος cett.* *Lasc.*

(4) Of some other distinctive readings presented by *z*, it is difficult to estimate whether those that are right result from fidelity to the tradition or from conjecture. These are:

II. 93 *εἶδε z Lasc.*: *ἴδε cett.*

III. 21 *ὀξεῖσιν z(G): -εἰαῖσιν C Lasc., -εἰεσσιν cett.*

86 *δαῖμον z Lasc.*: *δαίμων cett.*

244 *δι' ὅστέα z Lasc.*: *διοστέα cett.*

253 *ἴσον z Lasc.*: *ἴσον cett.* (*x* omit it).

V. 107 *πόσσα z Lasc.*: *πάσσα, πᾶσσα, πᾶσα, ὄσσα*, or lacuna, *cett.*

VI. Title *εἰς δήμετρα z(GA) Lasc.*: *-αν cett.*

21 *τέχναν z Lasc.*: *η Π, -ην cett.* (*x* omit it).

At IV. 91 *z(G)* agrees with IID (*οὐδέ τι πω sic: οὐδ' ἔτι πω cett.*) in preserving the true text. At V. 135 *z(GA)* has *ἀλλ' αὐτῇ κορυφὰ* for *ἀλλὰ διὸς κορυφὰ* of most MSS. (*ἀλλὰ καὶ κορυφὰ S*, but with a stroke through *καὶ* and *διὸς* in margin).

Indecisive variations are found in:

III. 61 *μοχθήσειαν z Lasc.*: *-ίσειαν x, -ίσσειαν cett.*

IV. 140 *ἔβραχεν z Lasc.*: *ἔβραμεν cett.*

¹ Only the *first* hand of *I* is meant throughout the following discussions, except where the second is expressly indicated.

² *z* detached means the common ancestor of the seven MSS.; attached to a reading, it will be used to indicate the consensus of *FHIBr*. Where *G* or *A* is not added to *z*, the term *cett.*

does not include either MS.; but known opposition of either to *z* will be set forth. *G* is cited mainly on Schneider's authority, with a few additions from Nigra; *A*, exclusively from Nigra. *Ed. pr.* is cited in evidence of its connexion with *I*, and is called 'Lasc.'

Some
conjecture

I. 42

III. 213

IV. 174

223

260

V. 31

VI. 76

76

At I
z(GA) ha
conscious

(5) *z*
verbs in

(a) C
Once
occasions

II. 10

III. 129

IV. 7

84

238

F h
at I. 88
18, ὁδεύ
*z*² interp
G gives
Lasc.) a

(b)
Ch

III. 66

III. 137

γαμέεσθ

to the d

For

has ἀε

ῥώσωντ

Some, at least, of the following wrong readings in *z* may be due to conjecture:

- I. 42 ἀπέλιπεν *z*: ἀπέλειπεν *cett.* Lasc.
 III. 213 σφιν *z*(GA): φιν *cett.* Lasc.
 IV. 174 ἐσχατόεντος *z*(G): -όωντος *cett.* Lasc.
 223 ἀπέστιχον *z*(G): ἀπέστυγον *cett.* Lasc.
 260 γείνατο *z*(G): -ετο *cett.* Lasc.
 V. 31 ἀπὸ χαίτης *z*(GA): ἀποχαίταν or ἀπὸ χαίταν *cett.*
 VI. 76 ἐνδοῖ *z* Lasc.: ἐνδοι *cett.*
 76 κρανῶνα *z*(G): κρανῶνα *cett.* Lasc.

At III. 224 *z*(G) has ἀκρόρειαν, *cett.* and Lasc. -εια. Earlier in the line *z*(GA) has μαιναλίην νάεν (νάε G) by dittography; and ἀκρόρειαν seems a conscious adaptation to suit the accus. adjective.

(5) *z* and its subsections and individual manuscripts¹ sometimes present verbs in moods differing from those given by *cett.*

(a) Optative for other moods.

Once in *z* (IV. 4, treated below); much more frequently in *z*² and G; occasionally also in *FHI* individually. Thus *z*² gives:

- II. 10 ἴδοι *z*² (G: I altered to -ει): ἴδε q, ἴδη *cett.* Lasc.
 III. 129 ἀνγάσαιο G, -άσσαο HA, -άσσεο IBr: -άσσαι (-ησαι Q) *cett.* Lasc.
 IV. 7 αἰέσοι *z*² (G: I altered to -ει), -ει *cett.* Lasc.
 84 ἀέξοι *z*² (I altered to -ει: -η G), -ει *cett.* Lasc.
 238 εἴποι *z*²(G): -η *cett.* Lasc.

F has δέχοισθε (-εσθαι xelI: -εσθε *cett.* Lasc.) at V. 137. *G* gives optatives at I. 88 and 93 (see below); at III. 141 it has ἐλαύνεις (-εις *cett.* Lasc.); at IV. 18, ὀδεύοι (-η E: -ει *cett.* Lasc.); while at I. 21, where *codd.* have ῥέη (i.e. ῥέη), *z*² interpreted it as a verb (ῥέει HIBr, with I altered immediately to ῥέα), and *G* gives ῥέοι. *H* has αἰέδοι (-ει *cett.* Lasc.) at II. 28; IBr read θάνοι (-η *cett.* Lasc.) at V. 129.

(b) Indicative for other moods.

Chiefly for the optative. Thus, *z* at I. 93 and II. 31 (see below), and at III. 66 (τεύχει: -οι *cett.* Lasc.); *z*² at II. 26 (μάχεται: -οιτο *cett.* Lasc.) and III. 137 (μέλει: -οι *cett.* Lasc.); *F* at I. 92 (αἰέδει: -οι *cett.* Lasc.); while *G*'s γαμέεσθε (-έουσθε *cett.*) at IV. 240 is probably due rather to this tendency than to the deliberate choice of an imperative.

For αἰέδη of *codd.* and Lascaris (-ει E), perhaps taken as a subjunctive, *z*² has αἰέδει at II. 104. *z*²'s ῥώσαντο (IV. 175) corresponds to the correct ῥώσωνται, not to ῥώσονται of *F* *cett.* Lasc.

¹ A, of which I have very few readings, is seldom cited here or for genders.

(c) *Subjunctive for Indicative.*

z^2 has δύνῃ (-ει *cett.* Lasc.) at III. 71, and αείσης (-εις *cett.* Lasc.) at IV. 1.

At III. 154 *F*'s κυκλήσκωσιν is probably, like *E*'s suprascript (-ουσιν *E*: -ουσιν *cett.* Lasc.), a genuine conjecture.

That the tendency to modal substitution is not confined to the z group, but affects the other manuscripts too, though in a smaller degree, will be seen from the following citations:

(a) I. 76 ὑδείοιμεν *E*: -ομεν *cett.*

E's reading may, however, be a conjecture (see *C.Q.* 1920, p. 116).

93 *q* has to correct αείσει to its parent's αείσοι (-οι *codd.* correctly: -ει *FGHBr* Lasc., while *G* breaks away from z^2 and gives -οι).

IV. 4 *S* has had to amend ἐθέλοι (so *FGHBr*: ^{οι} *I*, with dots under *οι*—the suprascript is a later addition) to the correct -ει of *cett.* and Lascaris.

181 ἀπανγάζονται all MSS. and Lascaris: -ονται Reiske's necessary emendation.

(b) I. 87 νοήσει all MSS.: -η Lasc. correctly.

III. 260 ἀτιμήσει *E*: -η *cett.* Lasc.

IV. 7 αείσει Lascaris and all MSS. except z^2 (-οι), for -η.

175 ῥώσονται Lascaris and all MSS. except z^2 (ῥώσαντο), for -ονται.

234 ἐρείσει *codd.* and Lascaris (ἐρύσει *IBr*), for -η.

In three passages we find a manuscript mediating between right and wrong readings:

I. 88 νοήση *xeF* Lasc. correctly: -^η *S*: -ει *EHIBr*, but -οι *G*.II. 31 αείδοι *xeII* correctly: -^{οι} *S*: -ει z Lasc.: -ειν *E*'s conjecture.

50 τελέθει *xSeIIF* correctly: -^{οι} *E*: -ει z^2 Lasc.

(c) IV. 212 βαρύνεις correctly Lascaris and all MSS. except *E*, which has -ης.

(6) In regard to genders, too, z and its subsections and individual members are often at fault.

(a) *Feminine forms for masculine.*

$z(G)$ has θαῖς κύνας (θοῶς *cett.* Lasc.) at III. 17, and σκολιῆς λαβυρίνθου (σκολιοῦ *cett.* Lasc.) at IV. 311. At III. 52 *FGHA* have πρηόσιν ὀσσεῖσιν (-είοσιν *cett.* Lasc.); z^2 's πῆ (ποῖ *cett.* Lasc.) at IV. 117, and ἡ (οἱ *dat. sing.*, *cett.* Lasc.) at VI. 42, are perhaps due rather to this tendency (or to pronunciation?) than to conjecture; *GH* have σωτείρων (-ήρων *cett.* Lasc.) at IV. 166, and *G* δούλαις (-οις *codd.* Lasc.: φίλοις *IBr*) at IV. 226. *G* gives αἱ (οἱ *cett.* Lasc.) at II. 8; but at III. 261 its καλὴν (-οὶ *cett.* Lasc.) was probably due to πόλει just afterwards.

(b) *Ma*

Here

III. 142 π

IV. 16 πρ

or ὀσσαις

δεσπότης (-

at III. 87-8

was also a

cett. Lasc.)

pronunciat

But *G* cert

(-ησιν *cett.*

-εσίην *H*,

(only \hat{a} or

correct in

κρείουσα κ

case of att

cett. Lasc.)

at V. 114

-φορίην *I*

where *I* h

πικινόν.

Paral

(θεῖ) *cett.*

δαφιλέην

^{οις}

θεῖς, but

sin in IV.

in IV. 184

-ώτατον *K*

can be exp

(7) z

times; tw

gives him

individual

manuscrip

(8) z

V. 105),

(IV. 37),

The scrib

tion; and

(b) *Masculine for feminine.*

Here z was guiltless. From z^2 we have II. 51 οἶσω (ῆσιw *cett.* Lasc.); III. 142 προμολοῖσι (-ῆσι *cett.* Lasc.); III. 204 ἀναξ (ἄνασσ' *cett.* Lasc.); IV. 16 πρώτοισι (-ῆσι *cett.* Lasc., referring to νῆσοι, l. 18); IV. 68 ὅσοις (ὅσαις Lascaris and *cett.* except II, which has ὅσ' ἐπεβάλλετο); IV. 239 δεσπότης (-ις *cett.* Lasc.); to the same influence may be partly due z^2 's reading at III. 87-8, ἴκεο δ' ἀδλιν | ἀρκαδικοῦ (-ῆν *cett.* Lasc.) ἐπὶ πανός, and perhaps it was also at work in VI. 31, τριοπίδεσσω (-δαισιν *cett.* Lasc.). G's αἰοῖδοι (-ῆ *cett.* Lasc.), at the end of II. 17, may be due rather to final αἰοῖδοι in 18; and pronunciation may account for its θηρητῆρα (-ῆτειρα *cett.* Lasc.) at IV. 230. But G certainly errs in gender in III. 22 οἶσι (ῆσι *cett.* Lasc.); III. 192 λασίοισιν (-ῆσιν *cett.* Lasc.); IV. 258 διαπρυσίον (note the accent: -ίην *codd.* Lasc.: -εσίην H, -ῆσίην IBr); and V. 138 ὅσοις (-αις *cett.* Lasc.); and in VI. 5 ᾄδς (only ᾄ or ᾅ *cett.* Lasc.) we see the perverse tendency actually at work, the correct inherited reading not being scored out. At IV. 219-20, G's σὺ δὲ κρείουσα κάθησαι | γνησίον (-ίη *cett.* Lasc.) ὀλύμποιο (*sic*) is probably rather a case of attraction to the genitive noun. At III. 14, HA's ἀμυτραίους (ἀμίτρον *cett.* Lasc.) may have resulted from ἀμίτρον^{ac}. IBr have αὐτοὶ (-αὶ *cett.* Lasc.) at V. 114; Br breaks away from its parent I at II. 78 (τελεσφόριον Br: -φορίην I *cett.* Lasc.) and III. 168 (ἔδρον Br: -ῆν I *cett.* Lasc.); and at II. 89, where I has πυκινὴν (so *codd.* Lasc.), Br shares πυκινὸν with G, while H has πυκινόν.

Parallels from the other manuscripts are few. At III. 119, S has θεοὶ (θεῆ *cett.* Lasc.); and at IV. 130 x and S give διψαλέον (-έην *codd.* Lasc.: δαψιλέην HIBr, δαψιλέων G). At IV. 231, for θεῆς of *codd.* and Lascaris, S has θεῆς^{ac}, but *ouc* seems to come from another hand. The noun's form enticed x to sin in IV. 32, νήσους εἰναλίους (but A has εἰναλίους: -ας *cett.* Lasc.), and again in IV. 184, κακὸν (-ῆν *cett.* Lasc.) ὄδον; similarly q has στιβαρώτερος (-ον *codd.*; -ώτατον K) ἔρκος (*sic*) at IV. 24. At IV. 92 E's θηρίον . . . καθέρπων (-ον *cett.*) can be explained on the ground of pronunciation.

(7) z wrongly substitutes Attic for Epic forms twice, and for Doric six times; twice he perverts Doric into Ionic; and in three cases Atticism luckily gives him the true reading. This Atticizing tendency recurs in z^2 , and in individual members of the z group, besides appearing in the rest of the manuscripts.

(8) z 's or its descendants' strange non-divisions, τοπρώτον (III. 23, 113; V. 105), ταπρώτα (II. 58, 64; IV. 22, 149), ταπρώτιστα (IV. 30), τοπαλαῖον (IV. 37), are not found in most of *cett.*; some of them occur in Lascaris' edition. The scribe mis-divides twice. Five times he has quite distinctive accentuation; and at II. 25 he alone (with Lascaris) gives ἴη ἴη. Ordinary permuta-

tions of letters number nine. Finally, the z group alone have 'κείνος for κείνος *passim*.

2. Among $FHIBr$, F stands out clearly by itself, and is thus the nucleus of our first subdivision of the z group. While it agrees with $(GA)HIBr$ in 75 major and 7 minor readings found in z alone, it differs from them in 289 major and 89 minor readings; and of the 289, five-sixths show a better reading in F , which adheres to the traditional text in most of them. Indeed, F very seldom is alone in giving a reading. Twenty-five errors of its own have been noted above, and two changes of moods; while the following readings, found only in it, may also be mentioned:

- I. 52 κούρη τίς σε F : κούρητές σε (with varying accents) or κούρητές τε *codd.* Lasc.
- II. 29 ἐπειδὴ F : ἐπὶ διὰ IBr : ἐπεὶ διὰ *cett.* Lasc.
- III. 81 ἡ εἴ μοι τίς F : εἴ μοι τίς $GIBr$, εἴ μοι τίς Λ , εἴ μοι τίς H : ἡ μοί τίς *C* Lasc., ἡ ἡ μοί τίς or ἡ ἡ μοί τίς *cett.*
- IV. 58 φιλέταιρον F : -έτερον G : -αίτερον *cett.* Lasc.
- V. 94 γοερὸν F : γορεῶν x , γοερῶν *cett.* Lasc.

At II. 107 F alone gives correctly ὥπόλλων. At IV. 172 its ἀνοιμὲν is nearer the true ἀν οἱ μὲν than ἀνοιμεν (Lasc.) or ἀνειμεν of *cett.* At III. 154 it has κικλήσκωσιν, E -ουσιν, *cett.* -ουσιν.

A study of the divergences between F and z^2 will be useful in revealing some characteristics of the latter:¹

(1) I. 88, II. 50, IV. 132, V. 13, and VI. 114, for all of which see *C.Q.* 1920, pp. 119-121.

(2) Traces of possible doublets or other suprascriptions in z^2 , or in some earlier ancestor intermediate between z^2 and z :

- IV. 6 λούσε καὶ GH , λούσεν καὶ IBr : λούσέ τε καὶ *cett.* Lasc.

z^2 may have had λούσε καὶ, or τε have dropped out as such small words sometimes do.

- 42 ^{σαρωνικοῦ} GH , ^{σαρωνικοῦ} I , ^{σαρωνικοῦ} Br : *σαρωνικοῦ cett.* Lasc.

Perhaps z^2 (or even z) had I 's text, which Br inverts in copying from I .²

- III γένεσθαι $z^2(G)$: τεκέσθαι *cett.* Lasc.

γένεσθαι may be a suprascript explanation, embodied in the text, of the rare use of τεκέσθαι as middle for passive; but it may also have arisen by parablepsy to γενέω in 110.

¹ z^2 indicates below, sometimes the common source of $GHAIBr$, sometimes (*i.e.* when attached to a reading) only the consensus of $HIBr$.

² That Br is a copy of I will be proved later. For the inversion cf. q from Q at VI. 77 (*C.Q.* 1920, p. 74, note 2).

162 $\mu\eta^{\sigma\iota}$ σέ γε *GI*: $\mu\eta$ σέ γε *H*: $\mu\eta$ σύ γε *Br cett.* Lasc.

Probably z^2 's reading survives in *GI*, *H* rejecting the variant which *Br* accepts.

245 οὐδ' $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ z^2 : οὐδ' $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ *cett.* Lasc.

$\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ looks like an incorporated suprascript explanation of $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$.

V. 55 μέγα δέ σφ' $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\tau\iota$ z^2 (δὲ *G*): μέσφα δ' $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\tau\iota$ *cett.* (τοῖ corrected to $\tau\iota$ *F*) Lasc.

Some ancestor intermediate between z^2 and z may have had the correction $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ δ' $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\tau\iota$:¹ later, σφ moved to the place above δ' ε-, and by z^2 's time had been incorporated to form μέγα δέ σφ' $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\tau\iota$.

VI. 12 κείνον z^2 (*G*): τήνον *cett.*, τήνων Lasc.

z^2 has incorporated the suprascript gloss.

43 $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$ *H*, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu^{\nu}$ *IBr*: $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$ *cett.* Lasc.

Is the doublet a tentative correction by *I*, or an inheritance from z^2 ?

53 τοι $\tau\iota$ z^2 : τοι *cett.* Lasc.

This looks as if z^2 had $\tau\iota$ or $\tau\iota$.

57 $\alpha\phi\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$ τοι *GH*, $\alpha\phi\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu^{\alpha\iota}$ $\tau\iota$ *IBr*: $\alpha\phi\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\tau\iota$ *cett.* Lasc.

z^2 , or even z , may have had *IBr*'s text.

65 $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota$ *G*, $\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota$ *HIBr*: $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota$ *cett.* Lasc.

It is just possible that the diversity between *G* and *HIBr* arises from $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota$ in z^2 .

77 τέλος z^2 (*G*): τέλθος *cett.* Lasc.

z^2 may have had τέλθος as a gloss above τέλθος.

83 δειλαία τοι φιλότεκνε *G*, δειλαία τυφλότεκνε *H*, δειλαία τυφλότεκνε *IBr*: δειλαία φιλότεκνε (-τεκε *Q*) *cett.* Lasc.

A difficult case; but perhaps a choice between δειλαία τυφλότεκνε and δειλαία φιλότεκνε was indicated by a suprascript (e.g. δειλαία $\phi\iota$ τυφλότεκνε) in z^2 , whence *I* received its preference correctly,² while *G* and *H* contaminated the rival readings.

92 $\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ νευραὶ (with two dots under -ι of νευραὶ: 'sed ultima litera non certa,' Schneider) *G*, $\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ πλευρὰς *HIBr*: $\epsilon\pi\iota$ νευρὰς *cett.* Lasc.

The evolution of *HIBr*'s reading seems to require for its explanation $\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ νευρὰς in *a* more, and a shifting to $\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ νευρὰς in *a* less, remote ancestor, both intervening between z^2 and z ; the next stage would be the adaptation to the familiar πλευρὰς. *G*'s text, if correctly reported, is the obstacle. Did

¹ ϕ with the top open would resemble γ with the second stroke looped.

² It seems likely, in view of the marked diversities between *GHA* and *I*, that they are respectively descended from two 'sons' of z^2 . Of

course, it is possible that more than one generation intervened, in either or both cases; and this would make the problem at VI. 92 (below) more comprehensible.

z^2 give ^{πλ}νευρὰς? Or had he merely ^πνευρὰς, and did both *H* and *I* (or their respective parents) hit on the same emendation? *I* is quite capable of it; but *H* seems a less alert critic.

(3) Marginal corrections or variants from z^2 :

III. 221 λύκον *G*ΗΑΒ γ , λῦκον *I* (marg. ῥοῖκον *HI*, the latter by addition): ῥοῖκον *cett.* Lasc.

λ for ρ is an inherited weakness in this section of the z group; cf. IV. 205 (ἄλυτον *G*ΗΙΒ γ , ἄκρητον *E*, ἄρητον *cett.*, ἄρρητον Lasc.),

IV. 322 (λίσσόμενον *G*ΗΙΒ γ , ῥησσόμενοι *S*, ῥησσόμενον *cett.* Lasc.).

IV. 310 οἶδμα *H*ΙΒ γ (marg. ὕλα *HI*, γρ' ὕλα *B* γ): ὕλα *cett.* Lasc.

V. 33 ἔδρα *G*, ἔδρα (marg. ἱλα) *H*, ἔδρα *IB* γ : ἱλα *cett.* Lasc.

(4) Notable omissions made by z^2 :

III. 183, 188 δ' omitted by *G*ΗΑΙΒ γ : *cett.* and Lascaris have it (but *C* omits all 183).

195 δὴ omitted by *G*ΗΑΙΒ γ , without gap: *cett.* and Lascaris have the word.

IV. 142-3 completely omitted, without gap, by *G*ΗΙΒ γ , owing to *homoeographon* of 141 with 143: *cett.* and Lascaris have them.

V. 82 ἄ omitted by *H*ΑΙΒ γ , while *G* has ἦ: ἄ or ἶ *cett.* Lasc.

z^2 must, like some of the extant manuscripts, have first omitted the first letter of each line in this *Hymn* and then added it in red ink. Here he had forgotten it (cf. *Ee*'s omission of ὦ, l. 27). With *G*'s Atticism compare ἦ μὲν of *G*ΗΑΙΒ γ (ἄ or ἶ *cett.*) at l. 93, which arises from this same practice, as does also *G*'s ὦ (ῖ *cett.*) at l. 91.

105 ἐγείνα· νῦν *G*ΗΙΒ γ : ἐγείναο νῦν *cett.* Lasc.

VI. 63 the second κύον omitted, without gap, by *G*ΗΙΒ γ : all *cett.* and Lascaris have it.

(5) Permutations of words in z^2 :

IV. 134 καρήατα πρὸ θέλυμνα *H*, καρήατα προθέλυμνα *IB* γ : προθέλυμνα καρήατα (-ήσατα, -ήσυντα) *cett.* Lasc.

V. 57 μίαν νύμφαν *G*ΗΑΙΒ γ : νύμφαν μίαν *cett.* Lasc.

(6) With z^2 , as with z , it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between inherited reading and conjecture. But the following correct readings were probably got by z^2 from z :

I. 53 πεπλήγοντες z^2 (*G*) Lasc.: πεπληγότες *cett.*

II. 86 λιβύσσαις z^2 (*G*): -ης *cett.* Lasc.

Or was this merely a lucky Atticism on z^2 's part?

III. 37 μεσσόγεως z^2 Lasc.: μεισόγεως *C*, μεσόγεως *cett.*

55 πουλύ z^2 (*G*) Lasc.: πολύ *cett.*

121 τέταρτον z^2 Lasc.: τέταρτον *cett.*

- 125 λοιμὸς z^2 (G) and (by correction) E: λιμὸς *cett.* Lasc.
 187 δολίχη z^2 : -ην *cett.* Lasc.
 IV. 5 αοιδάων z^2 Lasc.: -έων *cett.*
 25 λᾶες z^2 Lasc.: λᾶες *cett.*
 100 πόλῃες z^2 Lasc.: πόλιες *cett.*
 126 ὑπάτου z^2 : -οιο *cett.* (ἐξηπάτοιο Q) Lasc.
 173 ἄρῃα z^2 Lasc.: ἄρην *cett.*
 322 ὀδακτάσαι z^2 (πρεμνοδακτάσαι G): -ᾶσαι *cett.* Lasc.
 V. 5 ἀθαναία z^2 Lasc.: ἀθηναίη GC: ἀθηναίῃ A, ἀθηναία *cett.*
 G's defection is probably due merely to Homeric influence.
 109 ἀκταίον G, ἀκταίονα H, ἀκταίονα IBr Lasc.: ἀκταίονα *cett.*
 VI. 2 πουλυμέδιμνε z^2 Lasc.: πολυ- *cett.* (and G, according to Schneider).

The following seem to be all, or nearly all, conjectures:

- II. 63 ἐπεβάλλετο z^2 (G): ὑπ- *cett.* (ὑπερ- Ee) Lasc.
 80 πολύλιτε z^2 (πολύτιτε G): πολύλλιστε *cett.*, but B by correction πολύλλιστε with Lasc.
 The single -λ- of z^2 will not do; but -ιτε for -ιστε was clearly needed.
 88 κυρῆς z^2 (G): κυρῆς *cett.* Lasc.
 As πηγῆς (so all MSS. for πηγῆσι) preceded, z^2 may have felt that the then impossible κῦρῆς needed alteration.
 III. 6 ἄττα z^2 (GA): ἄπτα FS (first hand) Qq: ἄπτα *cett.* Lasc.
 46 αὔτι z^2 (αὐτίκα G, probably a conjecture): αὐθι *cett.* Lasc.
 Cf. IBr's αὔτι (αὐθι *cett.* Lasc.) at IV. 44, V. 103.
 92 δοράων z^2 (GA): δὲ ῥάων Fxe: δερᾶων *cett.* Lasc.
 δερᾶων had puzzled F too, unless his reading is that of z. δοράων, elsewhere used only of the skin when taken off, cannot be admitted here in view of ἔτι ζώοντας, l. 93.
 120 ἦκες GAIBr, ἦκες H: ἦκας *cett.* Lasc.
 125 σφιν z^2 (GA): φιν *cett.* Lasc.
 164 ἐς λειμῶνα G, ἐς λειμῶν [+ ?] HΛ, ἐς λειμῶν' IBr: ἐκ λειμῶνα Fe: ἐκ λειμῶνος *cett.* Lasc.
 Inheriting λειμῶνα, z^2 has adapted the preposition to it.
 192 ὑπ' ὀφρύσι z^2 (GA): ὑπὸ δρυσι *cett.* (-ὶν A) Lasc.
 IV. 10 καίριος z^2 (G): καύριος FSQq: καύθιος Π: καν . . . Ee: κάνθιον x: κύνθιος Lasc.
 15 ἐδάσαντο GBr: ἐδάσσαντο HI: ἐννάσαντο Fx Lasc., ἐννάσσαντο *cett.*
 64 ἐφύλασσε σὺν z^2 Lasc.: ἐφύλασσε δὲ σὺν *cett.*
 83 ἐτεόν γ' ἐγένοντο G, ἐτεόν ῥ' ἐγένοντο HIBr: ἐτεὸν ἐγένοντο *cett.* Lasc.
 93 περιστρέφει z^2 (G): -στέφει *cett.* Lasc.
 117 πῇ z^2 (G): ποῖ *cett.* Lasc.
 127 ἐξερύσει με z^2 (G): -ύξειε, -ύσσειε, -ύσειε *cett.* Lasc.
 137 ὀλόλυξεν z^2 (G): ἐλέλιξεν *cett.* Lasc.

138 *κρανώνιον* z^2 Lasc.: *κραινώνιον* *cett.*

With z^2 here compare z at VI. 76 (above, p. 63).

157 *ἀφ'* $z^2(G)$: *ἐφ'* *cett.* Lasc.

159 *φορέοντο* $z^2(G)$: *φοβέοντο* *cett.* Lasc.

163 *οὔκουν* $z^2(G)$: *οὔτ' οὖν* *cett.* Lasc.

223 *οὐδ' ἐδέχοντο* *HI* with x Lasc.: *οὐδὲ δέχοντο* (-*ονται* *SQq*) *cett.*

228 *ἔξε* $z^2(G)$: *ἴξε* *cett.* Lasc.

232 *ἔξετο* $z^2(G)$: *ἴξετο* *cett.* Lasc.

264 *εἴλετο* *H*, *εἴλετο* (with two dots over τ) *I*, *εἴλετο* *GBr* with xII : *εἴλεο* *Fcett.* Lasc.

z^2 seems to have taken the word to refer to *Leto*, the connexion with *Δῆλε* (l. 260) being obscured by the three third-person clauses that intervene.

V. 2 *ἔτι* $z^2(G\Lambda)$: *ἄρτι* *cett.* Lasc.

7 *ἔκανν* *H*, *ἔκα νῦν* *GAIBr*: *ἔκαδῃ x*, *ἔκα δῆ* *cett.* Lasc.

22 *αὐτὰς* *HA*, *αὐτὰς* *IBr*: *αὐτὰν* *cett.* Lasc.

αὐτὰς is, I believe, rather z^2 's than *I*'s conjecture.

33 *ἔξιτ'* z^2 : *ἔξιθ'* *cett.* Lasc.

71 *ἵππων* $z^2(G\Lambda)$: -*ω* *cett.* Lasc.

z^2 , whose tendency to Atticisms will be noticed later, here misunderstands and tries to emend the Doric form.

123 *ὄς τ'* $z^2(G\Lambda)$: *ὄς* *cett.* Lasc.

VI. 17 *μῆ δῆ* $z^2(G)$: *μῆ μῆ* *cett.* Lasc.

29 *ἐπεμαίετο* $z^2(G)$: *ἐπεμαίνετο* *cett.* Lasc.

42 *ἡ πόλις* $z^2(G)$: *οἱ πόλις* *cett.* Lasc.

But see above, p. 64.

93 *ἴρις τε* $z^2(G)$: *ἴρες τε* *Fq*, *ἴρες τε* *SQ*, *ἴρες τε* *cett.* Lasc.

121 *ἀμὲν* *H*, *ἀ μὲν* *GIBr*: *ἀμὲν* *F*, *ἀμὲν* *cett.* Lasc.

As conjectures may perhaps be grouped these variations in the spelling of proper names:

I. 42 *κνωσσοῖο* $z^2(G)$ Lasc.: *κνώσοῖο* *cett.*

43 *κνωσσοῦ* $z^2(G)$ Lasc.: *γνωσοῦ* *II*, *κνωσοῦ* *cett.*

II. 91 *μυρτούσης* z^2 Lasc. with xE : -*ούσης* *cett.*

III. 57 *τρινακρίη* $z^2(G\Lambda)$: *τρινακρίης* *marg. E*: *τρινακίη* *cett.* (some adding a part of *σικανῶν* by mis-division) Lasc.

259 *μουνυχίη* z^2 Lasc.: -*ιχίη* *cett.*

IV. 93 *παρηησσὸν* z^2 : -*ησὸν* *cett.* Lasc.

For (7) notable moods, and (8) notable genders, in z^2 , see above, pp. 63-65.

(9) z^2 uses Attic forms to replace Epic and (in *Hymns* V. and VI.) Doric in 35 cases, if we may include VI. 77 (*τέλος* z^2G : *τέλθος* *cett.*), where, however, *τέλος* may be a suprascript gloss of z , incorporated in the text by z^2 .

(10) *Tv*
letter of a
produced a

35 *ἀθ*

53 *ὄς*

(11) *Pe*

III. 143 *ἐρ*

IV. 130 *δα*

VI. 137 *εἰν*

(12) *Of*

III. 166 *χα*

IV. 207 *δν*

By

284 *ἀ*

δο

V. 100 *πέ*

π

(13) *Of*

10 are cases

forms of β

10 insertion

of non-divis

3. The

IBr on the

two. The

in lack of

proof of *I*

from all th

when we s

between *F*

majority of

while in 4 t

and 4 untin

masculine

¹ Cross-curr
and 8 minor
case of *FI* agai
cases of *FBr* a

(10) Twice in *Hymn V.* it is probably the practice of adding the initial letter of a line in a different ink, after the rest has been written, that has produced a distinctive reading in z^2 :

35 ἀθάνα $z^2(G)$: ᾠ' θάνα *cett.* Lasc.

53 ᾠς $z^2(G\Lambda)$: ὄς *cett.* Lasc.

(11) Permutations of syllables in z^2 :

III. 143 ἐρμήεις $z^2(G\Lambda)$: ἐρμείης *cett.* Lasc.

IV. 130 δαφιλέων *G*, δαφιλέην *HIBr*: διψαλέον^H *Q*, διψαλέον κSq , διψαλέην *cett.* Lasc.

VI. 137 εἰνάραν *GH*, εἰναρίαν *I* (conjecture ?) and *Br*: εἰράναν *cett.* Lasc.

(12) Other noteworthy permutations in z^2 are—

III. 166 χρυσίδας ὑπὸ νηλίδας *GHA*, χρυσίδας ὑπονηλίδας *Br*: χρυσείας ὑποληνίδας *cett.*, χρυσείας ὑπὸ ληνίδας *Lasc.*

IV. 207 ὄντε z^2 : ὄτε *cett.* Lasc.

By parablepsy to ὄντε of l. 206. As a result, *H* has passed from the one ὄντε to the other, and fused the two lines into . . . παρὰ ῥόον ὄντε πλήθοντι ῥέεθρῳ.

284 ἀ δονέουσι (ἀ *H*) $z^2(G)$: ἀ δωδώνηθε *cett.* Lasc.

δονέουσι is probably influenced by φορέουσιν, earlier in the line.

V. 100 πέλοντο *G*, πέλοντι $z^2(\Lambda)$: λέγοντι *cett.* Lasc.

πέλ- by parablepsy to πέλει in 99.

(13) Of ordinary permutations of letters there are some 70 in z^2 . Of these, 10 are cases of ι for ν ; confusion of β , κ , μ , ν points to the special minuscule forms of β and μ in z^2 ; again, $\alpha\iota$ and α are interchanged at times. There are 10 insertions, and 13 omissions, of letters; and two cases of mis-division, one of non-division, of words.

3. The section z^2 is in turn subdivided into *GHA* on the one hand, and *IBr* on the other; and the former three are nearer to *F* than are the latter two. The available citations of Λ , and even of *G*, are comparatively few; and in lack of fuller evidence from them, it would not be satisfactory to rely for proof of *IBr*'s separation from *GHA* on cases where *H* and *IBr* differed from all the other MSS. and from each other. But clear proof is available when we sift a series of 144 instances (102 major, 42 minor) of difference between *FH* and *IBr*,¹ in only 15 of which do *FH* fail to agree with the majority of the MSS. Of the 102 major cases, *FH* are better in 74, *IBr* in 24, while in 4 their merits are equal. *IBr* perpetrate 27 permutations of letters, and 4 untimely Atticisms; at III. 103 they have μῦθον for θυμὸν; at V. 114, masculine wrongly for feminine. Their omissions of letters or syllables²

¹ Cross-currents number only 13, viz., 1 major and 8 minor cases of *FI* against *HBr*; 1 minor case of *FI* against *GH*; and 1 major and 2 minor cases of *FBr* against *HI*.

² At III. 118, *I*'s τὸ βαποστάζουσι (ο after π is a correction from α) looks like haplography from τὸ βα πρὸ ἀποστάζουσι.

number 11, insertions 4; non-division of words occurs in them thrice, mis-division twice. At IV. 247 they replace σεβίζομαι of *cett.* by σεβιάζομαι, probably owing to a doublet (σεβίζομαι) in *I*'s source. For the rest, the scribe of *I* (from which *Br* is copied) makes 13 rather obvious, and 5 more distinctive, corrections of the text of *z*, as represented by *FH*, to that found in the majority of the MSS; and he produces 10 conjectures that show critical power, and 17 that are wrong. Among these conjectures, his successful contributions to the text (copied by *Br*) are: II. 113, φθόνος (φθόρος *cett.* Lasc.); III. 83, λητωῖας (so Lasc.: -οῖας *cett.*); III. 153, θνητοί σε (so *T*'s margin; θνητοῖσι *cett.* Lasc.); and IV. 70, 71, φεύγεν δ' (so Lasc.: φεύγε δ' *cett.*). At IV. 321 his ὑπαὶ (so *Br*: ὑπὸ *cett.* Lasc.) is blameless but unnecessary. The following readings (reproduced by *Br*) show his resource as a critical editor:

- I. 34 κευθμόν' ἔσω (κευθμόν ἔσω *cett.* Lasc.).

An attempt, in ignorance of the rare κευθμός, to use the more familiar κευθμόν.

36 μετά τε στύγα φιλύρην τε (so Lasc: μετά τε στύγα τε φιλύρην τε *cett.*).

- III. 52 ὀσσείοισιν (ὀσσεῖσιν *FGHL*: -οῖσι *A*, -οῖσιν *cett.* Lasc.).

178 στυμφαλίδες (στυμφαλίδες *G*: στυμφαλίδες, with dots over ι, *HL*: στυμφαλίδες *cett.* Lasc.).

An ingenious conjecture on *z*²'s text, but *z*²'s other descendants are nearer the truth.

- IV. 305 θειοπρόπος (θεοπρόπος *cett.* Lasc.).

An emendation *metri gratia*, in view of *z*²'s ξάνθου (for ξάνθοιο), just preceding it.

- V. 58 πέρι (περιδὴ *Ee*: περὶ *cett.* Lasc.).

- VI. 40 δ' ἁ μάτηρ (δαμάτηρ *cett.* Lasc.).

Seemingly he objected to the asyndeton, for which, however, cf. 41-2.

At III. 14 the second πάσας is found in *I*; possibly he inserted it, for it is lacking in *FH* (*G*, according to Schneider, strangely gives εἰνέτας ἔτι πάσας ἀμύτρους). At III. 77 he strengthens *z*²'s ἔλοψας (ᾠλοψας *cett.* Lasc.) to ἔλλοψας (so *Br*) *metri gratia*. At IV. 226 his φίλοις (so *Br*: δούλαις *G*, δούλοις *cett.* Lasc.) is unaccountable, unless it is due to the influence of φίλη earlier in the line; and so is καρπὸν (so *Br* also, for χαλκὸν) at V. 21, though there he may have found and amended χαρκὸν (the converse flaw, λ for ρ, has been noted above as occurring in *z*² at III. 221, IV. 205, 322). At VI. 96, with ἐπὶ χείρας ἐξέβαλλε (so *Br*: ἔβαλλε *cett.* Lasc.), he appears to have felt that ἐπιβάλλειν was unsatisfactory with πολιὰς . . . χείρας (so *z*² for πολιαῖς). At VI. 107 his ὑπέλυσεν (so *Br*: -αν *cett.* Lasc.) conforms to ἔφαγεν of 108. At VI. 137, where all the MSS. bungle ἔν' ὃς ἄροσε (restored in *ed. pr.*), he follows it with ἐκείνος σ' ἀμάσσει (so *Br*), in which the accusative may be due to a mental confusion with *amo* (*cett.* and Lascaris lack σ').

4. A
available.
there are a

III. 36 π
55 π

198 η
V. 15 λ
29 κ
102 δ

The n
subdivision
ἐσσηότας Δ
that -ω- is
the other h

III. 14 δ
129 α

177 γ
233 ε

And, v

III. 95 φ
196 ε

V. 22 α
131 δ

There
from *HL*.
remains un

5. *Br*
(a) Pa
suprascript

II. 1 τ

38 α

III. 3 ὑ

100 ε

IV. 42 (s
162 (s

4. A few citations that show the close kinship of *G*, *H*, and *Λ* are available. *ἐλοφας* (III. 77) and *λύκων* (III. 221) have already been mentioned; there are also—

III. 36 *παλλὰς* (*πολλὰς cett. Lasc.*).

55 *τ' ἄκμαζε* (*τ' ἄημμα IBr, τ' ἄημα cett. Lasc.*), probably due to a confusion of *η* with *κ*, followed by conjecture of the verb-form as a sequel to *ἐπελ* (so all MSS. for *ἐπι*) earlier in the line.

198 *ἦλλατο GH, ἦλλατο Λ* (*ἦλατο xIBr, ἦλατο cett. Lasc.*).

V. 15 *λοτροχόοι* (*λωτροχόοι cett. Lasc.*).

29 *κομίσσατε* (*-ίσσατο IBr, -ίσσατε cett. Lasc.*).

102 *ἀθροίσῃ* (*ἀθρίσῃ IBr, ἀθρήσῃ cett. Lasc.*).

The meagre report of *Λ* leaves it uncertain whether the section *GHA* has subdivisions or not. *GA* are cited alone only once (III. 134, *ἐστηότας G, ἐστηότας Λ: ἐστηώτας H, ἐστηώτας cett. Lasc.*); and there *H*'s accent suggests that *-ω-* is his correction of *ἐστηότας* (found in their common ancestor). On the other hand, *HA* agree against Schneider's report of *G* four times:

III. 14 *ἀμित्रαίους HA: ἀμίτρον Gcett.*

129 *ἀνγάσσαο HA: ἀνγάσαιο G* (*ἀνγάσσεο IBr: -άσσησαι Q, -άσσηαι cett. Lasc.*).

177 *γυῖαι HA: γυῖα GIBr* (*γυῖαι II, γυιαί cett. Lasc.*).

233 *ἐγκαθήσατο HA: ἐγκαθίσσατο G* (*ἐγκαθείσατο IBr: various forms with ἐκαθ- cett. Lasc.*).

And, where *G* is not cited, *HA* agree:

III. 95 *ῥκισται* (*ῥκιστα IBr: ῥκισται cett. Lasc.*).

196 *ἐξυπάτοιο* (*ἐξ ὑπάτοιο cett. Lasc.*).

V. 22 *αὐτὰς* (*αὐτὰς IBr: αὐτὰν cett. Lasc.*).

131 *ὦκ* (*ὦ κ' or ὦ κ' cett. Lasc.*).

There is thus a slight presumption in favour of regarding *G* as separated from *HA*. Whether *HA* are brothers, or one is copied from the other, remains uncertain.

5. *Br* is a copy of *I*. Of this there are the following proofs:

(a) Passages where *Br* accepts the variant or correction, marginal or suprascript, of *I*'s first hand:

II. 1 *τῷ 'πόλλωνος* (with suprascript *ρ'* τοῦ 'πό stroked out) *I: τοῦ 'πόλλωνος Br (solus)*.

38 *αἱ δὲ κόμαι* (marginal *ρ'* οὐδὲ stroked out) *I: οὐδὲ κόμαι Br (solus)*.

III. 3 *ὑψιάσθαι* (marginal *ρ'* ἐψία') *I: ἐψιάσθαι Br and (ἐ- or ἐ-) cett.*

100 *ἐλάδους I* (*-δους HA*): *ἐλάφους Br cett.*

IV. 42 (see above, p. 66).

162 (see above, p. 67).

- VI. 15 χαμάδις ἐκαθίσας (with breathing scored through, and dots above and below ε) φρητὶ I: χαμάδις καθίσας φρητὶ (κ by correction, covering the space of two letters) Br.

The text-hands of I and Br give ἔστασαν^{αν} (-αν alone, *cett.*) at VI. 43, and ἄφατόν τι^{οι} (τι or τοι *cett.*) at VI. 57. At IV. 310 both have οἶδμα (z^2) in the text; in the margin I has υἷα (so H), Br γρ' υἷα. At III. 123 Br has ἀλντήμονα (*sic*), mistaking for an accent, despite two dots over it, the suprascript *iota* in I's ἀλντήμονα (*άλιτ- cett.*).

(b) At VI. 25 I has τίνδ', but with τι ligatured, so that they resemble π, and ν so narrow and blurred as to be not unlike ι; hence Br gives πιδ'. This is the best evidence against I's being a copy of Br, as no scribe would have evoked the rare dative form from Br's *uox nihili*.

(c) Further, I and Br agree in alone showing certain minor specialities of punctuation (notably a mark of interrogation at the end of V. 88); of accentuation (e.g. II. 76 ἀσβύστιδι: III. 33 πῦργον: III. 49 μῦδρον: III. 194 παιπαλά τε: IV. 319 ὅττι: V. 58 πέρι); of word-division (e.g. III. 194 ἄν ἔπανσε: VI. 29 ἀμαράναν ἔθνε, I ἀμαράναν ἔθνε Br: VI. 74 ἐπάεθλα); and of breathing (e.g. IV. 262 ἔρνος: V. 61 ἡ' πῖ). The strokes which I has under ταπρῶτα, etc., appear in the same places in Br also. At VI. 124 I and Br alone omit δ' after ὥς.

Of the divergences between Br and the original text of I, none gainsays the theory that Br is the copy. There are 22 permutations of letters by Br: 9 insertions of a letter, and 5 omissions; and 1 case of haplography. Br has 32 worse accents than I, and 9 better; 14 worse breathings, and 1 better; its scribe corrects 2 mis-divisions of I, but himself perpetrates 3 errors of this kind and 8 non-divisions; and he omits *iota subscr.* from 48 places where I's original text has it.

Thus the writer of Br appears as a conscientious copyist. The following readings may perhaps be ascribed to conscious conjecture on his part:

- III. 175 μῆνειδν (μῆνει δν I).
 IV. 79 χορῶ (probably to go with ὑποδινηθείσα: χοροῦ I).
 325 ἐστὶν (ιστίη, with η shaped like ν, I).
 VI. 76 οὐ κέν δῆ· (οὐκ ἐνδοῖ· with κεν ligatured, I).

6. *At.* That this manuscript belongs to the z group is shown by its giving in the title of VI. δῆμητρα, as do FGHAIBr, against δῆμητραν of *cett.* For its close kinship with F we have the testimony of Wilamowitz (*Praef.*, pp. 12-13), backed by Mr. Allen's having reached the same conclusion about them in regard to the *Homeric Hymns*.¹

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¹ See *J.H.S.*, XV. (1895), pp. 149-150.

CAESAR'S FUNERAL IN LUCAN VIII. 729-735.

AN UNRECOGNIZED DESCRIPTION.

IN Lucan's eighth book we read:

Non pretiosa petit cumulatō ture sepulcra	
Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus; non pinguis ad astra	730
ut ferat e membris Eoos fumus odores,	
ut Romana suum gestent pia colla parentem,	
praeferat ut ueteres feralis pompa triumphos,	
ut resonent tristi cantu fora, totus ut ignes	
proiectis maerens exercitus ambiat armis.	735

Cordus, who gave Pompey's body decent burial, is apostrophizing Fortune: Pompey asks no splendid burial, no incense, no loyal Roman shoulders to carry the father of his country, no funeral procession displaying mementos of former triumphs, no solemn music in the fora, no mourning army circling about the pyre and casting their arms in it.

For the elucidation of line 735 editors refer to Suetonius, *Iul.* 84, where the funeral of Caesar is described:

Aurata aedes . . . intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus . . . praeferentibus munera, quia suffecturus dies non uidebatur, praeceptum ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque uellet itineribus urbis, portaret in Campum . . . lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt. deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices uestem quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae, et ueteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant . . . plebs . . . solidam columnam prope uiginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit scripsitque 'Parenti Patriae.'

But they have failed to see the full significance of the resemblance of the two passages, though Francken goes so far as to say that Lucan had in mind the funeral of a member of the imperial family, perhaps Julius Caesar.

The true explanation is this. By a fine anachronism, Cordus unwittingly contrasts Pompey's lowly funeral with the splendid obsequies of his conqueror, Caesar. It is Caesar's funeral that Lucan deliberately describes in this passage. The act of the soldiers in casting their arms into the fire at Caesar's funeral is

dots above
correction,

VI. 43, and
(z²) in the
23 Br has
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v: III. 194
III. 194 àv
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4 I and Br

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ters by Br:
ay. Br has
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usion about

SMILEY.

without parallel.¹ This is the identifying feature in Lucan's lines—it comes last in the description—but the other items harmonize with what we know from Suetonius. *resonant tristi cantu* recalls Suetonius' *tibicines*; *Romana suum gestent pia colla* suggests Suetonius' *lectum magistratus et honoribus functi detulerunt*; *pretiosa . . . sepulcra* is a brief equivalent of *aurata aedes . . . intraque lectus eburneus*, etc.; *parentem* resembles *Parenti Patriae*; and *triumphos* may refer to the same thing as *ex triumphorum instrumento*, as we shall see.

To the readers of Lucan's day the story of Caesar's funeral, with its unusual incidents, such as the casting of the arms in the fire, must have been well known. They would instantly recognize this detail in Lucan's line and see the pathos of the allusion.

Lucan was hard put to it to introduce the magnificent features of Caesar's career, which furnished such fine epic material, without making his poem a panegyric of Caesar. His use of Caesar's funeral is much more clever and subtle than some of his other devices. He is very clumsy and heavy when he attributes to a Massilian enemy of Caesar's the brave deed of Acilius, one of Caesar's soldiers, who kept on fighting after his right hand had been cut off.

In a paper printed in abstract in *A.J.A.* XXIV. (1920), p. 77, Miss Tanzer pointed out that Lucan describes the marriage of Marcia and Cato (II. 352 sqq.) in a series of negatives, and thereby gives valuable information about marriage customs. The treatment is suggestive of that in our passage. Perhaps there are other similar passages in Lucan.

With the preceding explanation, several perplexing problems in the passage under discussion find an easy solution. *proiectis*, in the last line, has puzzled the editors. Some scholars have even resorted to emendation, as Hosius, who in his first edition suggested *protentis*. Some editors have taken *proiectis* in the sense of *demissis* or *uersis*, i.e. with inverted arms, as a sign of mourning, others in the sense of *porrectis*, with arms extended in battle formation, still others in the sense of *abiectis*, throwing their arms away. By comparison with Suetonius we see that the word is used like *coniectis* or *iniectis*, thrown into the fire. The latest editor of Lucan, Postgate, rejects this interpretation (which is favoured by Haskins and Francken), and finds the line obscure. But the explanation of the reason for the parallelism between Lucan and Suetonius should remove all doubts.

The interpretation of *parentem* in vs. 732 has likewise varied. Some have thought it a reference to the carrying of the body of the deceased by the children,² as at the funeral of Metellus. Others have seen a reference to the title *parens* (or *pater*) *patriae*. The latter interpretation is made probable by the emphatic juxtaposition of *Romana suum* at the beginning of the clause.

¹ Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer*, p. 500, n. 14, refers to Sil. It. X. 562, and Dio Cass. 56, 42, 2. But the former is a reference to the common custom of burning the arms of the deceased, and the latter states that the soldiers threw in

the decorations (crowns, etc.) which they had received.

² Mau in Pauly-Wissowa III, p. 352, and Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer*, p. 495, n. 12, etc.

Postgate
patriae.

we should
that the
uerus patr
parens patr
our passa
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According
not Pom
people in
Still

Suetonius
placards
But Suet
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customar
Caesar's
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Postgate remarks that we do not know that Pompey was ever called *parens patriae*. We may go farther and say that the chances are that he was not, or we should have heard of it. Postgate argues that Lucan's words do not imply that the title was ever applied to Pompey and compares IX. 601, *ecce parens uerus patriae* (of Cato). But the word *uerus* shows that Lucan is not using *parens patriae* in its usual sense of a formally bestowed title. It is necessary in our passage to interpret *parentem* as referring to *parens patriae* as a title, and it is impossible to apply this to Pompey. Caesar, as we know, received this title. According to the interpretation suggested in this paper, Lucan refers to Caesar, not Pompey. Suetonius tells us that on the occasion of Caesar's funeral the people inscribed 'Parenti Patriae' on a marble column.

Still another line in Lucan may be reinterpreted in the light of the Suetonius passage. *Triumphos* in vs. 733 has usually been taken to refer to the placards on which were inscribed the names of conquered towns and nations. But Suetonius' statement that the actors who took part in the funeral had put on costumes belonging to the triumphal wardrobe suggests that Lucan had in mind these costumes instead of, or in addition to, the placards. As it was customary for an actor to imitate the dead man, perhaps one of the actors at Caesar's funeral wore Caesar's triumphal *toga picta*. In IX. 175 sqq. Lucan says that Cornelia, on arriving in Africa, burned the *togae pictae* and other insignia of Pompey in lieu of the body itself. Postgate remarks that it is not clear where these were got from. We need not suppose that Lucan found this episode in his historical sources. He is trying to show Pompey a few of the honours which his rival Caesar had obtained.

Finally, it may be remarked that it seems that the funeral of Augustus, as described by Dio Cassius, was intended as a deliberate imitation, within bounds, of the funeral of Caesar, just as Augustus himself constantly followed in the footsteps of his predecessor.

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ISOCRATEA.

AMONG the writings of Isocrates the discourse 'on the Peace' ranks second only to the *Panegyricus*. Apart from its literary merits and historical importance, an additional interest attaches to this work, because it is one of the few classical writings of which an early papyrus in a fair state of preservation has come to light.

Of this papyrus, now in the British Museum (*B.M. Pap.* 132), of which a collation by Sir F. G. Kenyon appeared in 1891 in *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum*, a transcript has more recently been published.¹ The papyrus in all probability dates from the first century A.D., and contains quite two-thirds of the speech. It cannot be referred to either of the two clearly-marked families of MSS., for though in a large number of cases its readings agree with Γ (*Urbinas*) and E (*Ambrosianus*), and in far fewer instances with the vulgate reading, there are a number of passages where the papyrus has variants hitherto unknown.² The aim of the following notes is to review certain of the more important passages in the speech where the received text would appear to require alteration or modification. In some cases it will be seen that the papyrus affords new readings which improve the text, in others it supports the vulgate reading and challenges the supposed infallibility of Γ, against which a distinguished authority has in a recent publication very rightly protested.³

De Pace, § 16. The papyrus here reads *φημι δ' οὖν χρῆναι ποιέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Κνιδίους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους*. Though the papyrus is rather fragmentary here, enough remains to make the reading absolutely certain. The original scribe had written *η* in place of the first *ι* in *Κνιδίους*, but this has been corrected. Now Dionysius, in quoting from this speech, gives the words *καὶ Κῶους* before *ἀλλὰ*, but the Isocratean MSS. have not got these words. With regard to the *καὶ* after *ἀλλὰ*, papyrus here agrees with the vulgate against ΓΕ and Dionysius. This latter point need not, however, detain us. The important fact is that all recent editors omit the words *καὶ Κῶους* given by Dionysius, because they do not appear in the MSS. of the *De Pace* nor yet of the *Antidosis*, where Isocrates alludes to the passage.⁴ The second objection carries little weight, for Isocrates is not actually quoting from the *de Pace*;

¹ *Journal of Philology* XXX. p. 1 (by H. I. Bell).

² Kenyon in *Classical Texts* gives the number of passages where the papyrus agrees with *Urbinas* as 123, and with the vulgate as 54. Since then

additional fragments have been joined on and published by Bell, *op. cit.*

³ Dr. B. P. Grenfell in *J. H. S.* XXXIX. (1919) p. 30.

⁴ *Antid.* § 68-69.

and besides, when he wrote the *Antidosis*, complete historical accuracy was not called for, though it would be essential in the earlier work. Further, it is at least arguable that *Κῶους* dropped out in the *Antidosis* passage, just as it appears to have done in the MSS. of the *De Pace*. Diodorus¹ expressly mentions the Coans in his account of the Social War; similarly Demosthenes at the end of the speech on the peace² speaks of Cos with the other three States, and in the speech on the liberty of the Rhodians Cos and Rhodes are mentioned together.³

The papyrus reading *Κνιδίους* cannot possibly be right as it stands. There is no mention of Cnidos in the Social War or even in the second Athenian confederacy; indeed, the inclusion of that city would have been a direct violation of the agreement made with the king of Persia when the confederacy was formed, that no cities in the Persian dominions—and Asia Minor at this time was included therein—should join the league. But though the actual reading *Κνιδίους* is wrong, the papyrus supports Dionysius in so far as it shows that a fourth State was mentioned besides Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and lends weight to the argument that *καὶ Κῶους* should be restored to the text. Isocrates wrote this discourse at the close of the Social War, and it is inconceivable that he should omit to mention a State which quite clearly was one of the most formidable of Athens' late antagonists. How the confusion *νιδ* for *ω* arose it is difficult to say, or perhaps it was merely careless copying of a scribe more familiar with one city than another.

§ 36. The papyrus reads *ὥσπερ πρόχειρόν ἐστιν ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὕτω ῥᾶδιον εἶναι πείσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀσκεῖν αὐτήν*. This agrees exactly with the version already adopted by Baiter-Sauppe, and with the vulgate reading except for the omission of the superfluous *καὶ* before *ῥᾶδιον*. *Γ* has a number of variants—namely, *ἐπαινέσθαι* for *ἐπαινέσαι*, *οὕτω προσήκον* for *οὕτω ῥᾶδιον*, and *τοὺς ἀκούοντας πείσαι ἀσκεῖν* instead of the order given above, so causing a peculiarly harsh hiatus. In the most recent edition of the text Blass adopted a suggestion made by Kayser, and read *ὥσπερ προσήκόν ἐστιν ἐπαινέσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὕτω πρόχειρον εἶναι πείσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀσκεῖν αὐτήν*, that is to say he adopted the readings of *Γ* but transposed *προσήκον* and *πρόχειρον*.

This course involves a drastic manipulation of the text, gets no sort of support from the papyrus, and makes poor sense. As has already been indicated, the papyrus agrees with *Γ* far more often than with the vulgate reading, and any serious divergence from *Γ* is therefore all the more worthy of careful consideration. The deciding factor in a case like this must, however, be the general context of the passage. Isocrates has been contrasting two classes of citizens—those who openly favour *ἀδικία* and are ever intent on aggrandisement, but who sooner or later are overtaken by disaster, and those who believe in justice and live up to their precepts. The writer concludes his paragraph by saying that the most ridiculous and untenable attitude is that of

¹ Diodor. XVI. 21.

² Demosth. *de Pace*, § 25.

³ Id. *de libert.* Rhod. § 27.

a third class of citizens, who admit that in theory justice is more desirable than injustice, but in practice they consider that the unjust man has a better time. Then follows the sentence under consideration. Isocrates is still thinking of this third class, and begins his new period with the perfectly natural sentiment: 'I wish it were as easy a thing to persuade my hearers to practice as it is the obvious thing to praise virtue.' *πρόχειρον*, in other words, is synonymous with *ῥάδιον*; but if we read *προσῆκον*, an entirely different thought is introduced, which does not seem to bear on the context. The propriety of praising virtue has nothing to do with the argument. The conclusion then is that the reading of the papyrus, which was also the reading of the Zürich editors, should be restored to the text.

§ 46. The right reading here would appear to be *καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ λυμαινόμεθα*. There is great divergence amongst the MSS. here. Γ and the vulgate omit *ἰδίᾳ*, E has *δι' οὗς* after *αὐτῶν*, and so have Θ and Λ in the passage as quoted in the *Antidosis*. Dionysius read *ἰδίᾳ* after *αὐτῶν*, a reading adopted only by Benseler. On the basis of Dionysius and E, Sauppe emended *δι' οὗς* to *ἰδίους*. The papyrus is very fragmentary at this part of the speech, but the letters . . . *ων ἰδιαί* are clearly preserved, thus supporting Dionysius. The variant *ἰδίους* would easily creep in through the preceding words *συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους*, and then by transposal of the initial letters become corrupted to the senseless *δι' οὗς*. In support of the reading *ἰδίᾳ* it is worth citing a good parallel in *Panegyricus*, § 104: *τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις διφκοῦμεν . . . ὅλων μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐκάστους ἐλευθέρους ἑῶντες κ.τ.λ.*

§ 56. MSS. *ἐπιχειροῖην*, but in the quotation in the *Antidosis* Γ has *ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν*; the latter reading was adopted by Benseler in the text of the *De Pace*. The papyrus has *ἐπιχειρήσαιμι*, and a number of considerations make it probable that this is the true reading. In the first place there are two close parallels to the passage under consideration:

Archid. § 81. *ἐπιλίποι δ' ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ τὰς πλεονεξίας τὰς ἐσομένας λέγειν ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν.*

Demon. § 11. *ἐπιλίποι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος, εἰ πάσας τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις καταριθμῶσαιμεθα.*

In both passages the aorist optative is used in the protasis, and in the second the plural is required after the preceding *ἡμᾶς*; in the *Archidamos* no personal pronoun occurs in the apodosis, so that either the singular or the 'editorial we,' of which Isocrates is fond, would be possible. But in the *De Pace* the apodosis has the singular personal pronoun, which makes the plural in the protasis (in the *Antidosis*) very awkward, and Kayser, on the basis of *Archid.* 81, proposed deleting *με* in the *De Pace* and *Antidosis*. If the papyrus reading be adopted this deletion is unnecessary. Secondly, it is important to note that Isocrates uses the aorist optative of *ἐπιχειρεῖν* in twelve instances, the present optative only in four. Further, in two out of these four passages¹

¹ *Antid.* § 8 and *Trapez.* § 29.

the verb in the apodosis is in the imperfect indicative, in one¹ it is in the present optative, while only in the remaining instance² is the aorist optative used in the apodosis. Incidentally, ἐπιχειρήσαιμι instead of ἐπιχειροῖην in the protasis of this passage would have caused an hiatus. The form ἐπιχειρήσαιμι occurs elsewhere in Isocrates (e.g. *Panath.* § 64). The contention, therefore, is that ἐπιχειρήσαιμι should be adopted in the text of the *De Pace* in place of ἐπιχειροῖην, as the use of the aorist brings the passage under consideration into line with the parallels in the *Archidamus* and *Deinonicus*, and is more in accordance with Isocratean idiom.

In the same passage Γ reads ἐγγεγενημένας, vulg. γεγενημένας, papyrus γιγνομένας. The sense given by the reading of the papyrus certainly seems preferable. Isocrates has been enumerating the faults of the old régime, and concludes by saying: 'If I were to enumerate all the faults of our present régime (γιγνομένας) I should never have done.' This reading and the consequent interpretation also accord better with what follows, for Isocrates says his political opponents may reply: πῶς εἶπερ οὕτω κακῶς βουλευόμεθα σωζόμεθα καὶ δύναμιν οὐδεμίας πόλεως ἐλάττω κεκτημένοι τυγχάνομεν;

§ 86. ἐν Δάτῳ δὲ μυρίους ὀπλίτας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπώλεσαν; so ΓΕ and the most recent editors. The vulgate reading is ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόντῳ κ.τ.λ.

That both readings are thoroughly unsatisfactory in the context in which they stand there can be no doubt. Isocrates is depicting in vivid colours the disasters into which the Athenians of the fifth century were led by an incurable lust for power. Other men, he adds, become more cautious after failure, but these did not profit by experience. He then gives a list of Athenian enterprises, all of which ended disastrously, or at least cost Athens heavy losses; and it should be noted that he gives them in chronological order—namely, the Egyptian expedition, the Cyprian, the Sicilian, and finally the crowning disaster in the Hellespont. Between the references to the Cyprian and Sicilian enterprises is inserted the passage under consideration.

Now what is the point in mentioning Datum or Pontus in this connexion? The only Athenian expedition to Thrace of sufficient importance to be named in such a context was the one to Amphipolis in 424 B.C., and to this Isocrates refers elsewhere quite unambiguously.³ To mention Pontus is even more pointless, and besides ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόντῳ looks suspiciously like a gloss on Datum, though this place was in Thrace, not on the Black Sea. Datum is rarely mentioned in ancient writers; Herodotus speaks of it as a town near the Pangaeon gold-mines,⁴ and from other sources⁵ it appears that the place was recolonized about 361 B.C., mainly from Thasos, and that the Athenian statesman Callistratos took some part in the new settlement. To this last-named fact Isocrates makes a rather vague reference in an earlier passage of the *De Pace*.⁶ It may probably be identified with Neapolis, which under this name became a port of more importance in the time of Philip and Alexander.

¹ *Antid.* § 298.

² *Epist.* VI. 2.

⁵ Skylax, *Peripl.* 67, Harpokrat. s.v.

³ *Archid.* § 53.

⁴ Herodot. IX. 73.

⁶ *de Pace*, § 64.

From these facts it is clear that the MSS. in this passage are corrupt, but fortunately the papyrus has revealed what is undoubtedly the right reading. The papyrus reads *ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελειῷ πολέμῳ κ.τ.λ.* In other words, the Dekeleian War from 413-405 is introduced, together with the Sicilian expedition and the disaster at Aegospotami, graphically to describe the whole of the last half of the Peloponnesian War. The phrase *ὁ Δεκελεικὸς πόλεμος* is used elsewhere by Isocrates¹ and several times by Demosthenes.² If Harpokration and the scholiast on Demosthenes are to be trusted, the term was even used to denote the whole of the Peloponnesian War;³ but it does not materially affect the present question whether the whole or only the latter part of the war is meant. Further, it is to be noted that shortly before the present passage Isocrates refers to the Spartan fortification of Dekeleia.⁴ The objection might be raised that Athens at this time was on the defensive, and that a reference to the Dekeleian War is not altogether appropriate side by side with references to great foreign expeditions like the Sicilian. But *πλεονεξία* is Isocrates' theme, and if the Athenians were only on the defensive, why did they not make peace after Cyzicus in 410 B.C., when Sparta was anxious to come to an agreement? A reference to *Δεκελεικὸς πόλεμος* is therefore quite appropriate. The most difficult point is to account for the corruption or lacuna in Γ and Ε. The first eight letters of *ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελειῷ πολέμῳ* could very easily be misread into *ἐν Δάτῳ δέ*, but the remaining letters *-κελειῷ πολέμῳ* would not be readily overlooked. Possibly the reference to *τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἐν Δεκελειᾷσιν* in § 84 helped to bring about the omission of a second reference to the same place, and it must also be remembered that there are other passages in Isocrates where Γ has omitted one or more words.⁵

To sum up a rather lengthy argument, while it must be admitted that the corruption of ΓΕ cannot be fully explained, the pointless character of the readings they give, and the strength of the historical argument based on the general context of the passage, make the claims of the papyrus reading irresistible. This is, in fact, the papyrus' most important contribution to the text of the *De Pace*.

§ 87. The papyrus has *οὐ συμπευθήσοντες τοὺς τεθνεώτας, ἀλλ' ἐφησθησόμενοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς*. This is also the vulgate reading, and is surely preferable to ΓΕ *συνησθησόμενοι*, adopted by Bekker and Baiter-Sauppe. Blass, following a passage in Pollux,⁶ has put *συνηδόμενοι* in his text. The word *συνήδομαι* occurs twice elsewhere in Isocrates (*Philip.* §§ 8 and 131), and in both passages is employed in a good sense. In the present passage, however, the context imperatively demands a word meaning 'to gloat over,'

¹ E.g. in an earlier passage of the *de Pace*, § 37, and in *Plataicus*, § 31.

² Dem. *de Cor.* § 96, *Androt.* § 15, ag. *Eubulides*, § 18.

³ Harp. s.v. *Δεκελεικὸς ὁ Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλεμος ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ τελευταίου*. Similarly schol. ad. Demosth. *Androt.* § 15.

⁴ § 84.

⁵ Thus in *Paneg.* § 73 Γ omits the words *διὰ τὴν τότε στρατείαν*, and in *Busiris*, § 24, the words *τῶν συμβαινόντων*.

⁶ Pollux III. 101 says *ἐπιχαλεῖν, ἐφήδεσθαι, καταχαλεῖν*. 'Ἰσοκράτης δ' ἐφη καὶ *συνηδόμενοι* ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφηδόμενοι.

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i.e. *ἐφήδομαι*. Pollux, moreover, is considerably later in date than the scribe of the papyrus; he uses the present participle when the future participle is required by the context, and it does not appear possible to find a parallel in another classical writer for this supposed use of *συνήδομαι*. The probability is that the reading *συνησθησόμενοι* is the correction of a later rhetorician, to whom the verbal assonance—*συμπευθήσοντες . . . συνησθησόμενοι*—appeared more important than correct Isocratean idiom, for Isocrates is particularly careful in choosing appropriate words, and avoids using phrases in an abnormal way.

§ 89. *ὥσπερ πρὸς παραδείγμα*. So papyrus and the vulgate. Γ, which all the recent editors follow, reads *ὥσπερ πρὸς δείγμα*. The reading of Γ is, however, not in accordance with Isocratean usage. In Isocrates *δείγμα* = 'a sample' or 'example,' without any accompanying idea of comparison. E.g. *Antidosis* 54 *ὥσπερ τῶν καρπῶν, ἐξευεγκεῖν ἐκάστου δείγμα πειράσσομαι*, and *Erist.* VIII. 6 *ἅπαντες γὰρ ὥσπερ δέγματι τοῖς τοιούτοις χρώμενοι*.

Παραδείγμα, on the other hand, occurs some two dozen times in Isocrates, and the phrase *ὥσπερ πρὸς παραδείγμα* is actually to be found in *Demonicus* 11. This is also the only other place where the simple *δείγμα* is used, and the contrast between it and its compound is very instructive. The quotation is as follows: *ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς δηλώσομεν, δείγμα δὲ τῆς Ἰππονίκου φύσεως νῦν ἐξενηρύχαμεν, πρὸς δὲ δεῖξιν ὥσπερ πρὸς παραδείγμα*. The force of *πρὸς παραδείγμα* is clearly 'as a pattern with which to compare or regulate your conduct.'

§ 135. *Τρίτον ἦν μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ἡγήσθε μετὰ γε τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμεῖν*. This is the reading of all the MSS., but in place of *ἡγήσθε* papyrus reads *ποιήσθε*, corrected by a later scribe to *ποιησῆσθε*. In either case the sense remains the same, but Isocratean usage is overwhelmingly in favour of the papyrus reading. The phrase *περὶ πλείονος ἡγεῖσθαι* elsewhere in Isocrates occurs only once (*Aegin.* § 10), and in that passage *ποιεῖσθαι* had already been used in the previous line, though in a different sense. On the other hand, the phrases *περὶ πολλοῦ*, *περὶ πλείονος* or *περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι* occur no less than twenty-five times in the orator, which seems a very strong argument in favour of *ποιήσθε* here. This form rather than the aorist should be retained, as it is nearer to the MSS. reading, and can also be paralleled from elsewhere (e.g. *Areop.* § 19). The present argument is further strengthened by a comparison with a passage in the *Archidamos*, which is very similar both in thought and language: *μηδὲ περὶ πλείονος φανῶμεν ποιούμενοι τὸ ζῆν τοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμεῖν*.

A few other readings in the papyrus can be considered more briefly:

§ 75. Pap. *οὐ δὲ κενῶν ἐλπίδων*; MSS. *οὐ δ' ἐλπίδων κενῶν*. Here the papyrus is to be preferred on a point of rhythm, as this order avoids the monotony of five disyllables next to each other (*κενῶν ὄντα μεστόν, ἀλλὰ νικᾶν*).

§ 85. Γ *ἐμφρονεστέρους*, adopted by all recent editors; E *ἐμφανεστέρους*,

which is clearly wrong; vulg. and pap. σωφρονεστέρους. It is difficult to decide between the two readings here, but it should be remembered that ἔμφρων is, in Isocrates, only found in this passage, whereas σώφρων occurs frequently.

§ 113. ὅπου δ' οἱ πρωτεύοντες καὶ δόξας μεγίστας ἔχοντες. So all MSS. and Pap. A second hand in the papyrus has, however, written ἀρχάς in the margin as an alternative to δόξας. Though one would hesitate to go against all the MSS. here, ἀρχάς is a very attractive reading in the light of *Epist.* I. 7: τὸν πρωτεύοντα τοῦ γένους καὶ μεγίστην ἔχοντα δύναμιν. ἀρχάς is certainly nearer to δύναμιν than δόξας.

In conclusion, it is worth while referring to a passage which cannot be considered satisfactory, though unfortunately the papyrus does not add to our knowledge. In § 61 there is the following sentence: πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς εἰκὴ τὰς ἐπιλήψεις ποιουμένους οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀντειπεῖν; so ΓΕ; the vulgate is ὑπολήψεις. The papyrus in this place is fragmentary, and Bell, though he restores ἐπιλήψεις in his transcript, admits that the word may have been ὑπολήψεις. Now the sense requires a word like 'censure' or 'strictures,' and this is the meaning that ἐπιλήψεις is supposed to bear. In *Busiris*, § 30, and *Panathenaicus*, § 150, all the MSS. read ὑπολήψεις, yet some editors in these two discourses have altered the text to ἐπίληψιν on the basis of the passage in the *De Pace*. The usual, in fact the only, well-attested meaning of ὑπόληψις is 'opinion,' though 'rejoinder,' 'reply,' also seems possible, in view of the use of ὑπολαμβάνειν in this sense. In the *Panathenaicus* 'opinions' make perfectly good sense, and therefore there seems no justification for altering the MSS. But in the *Busiris* and the *De Pace*, even if ὑπόληψις be translated 'reply,' the sense, in view of the general context, is decidedly inadequate. But is ἐπίληψις an improvement? In actual fact there seems no evidence that ἐπίληψις and ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι were used in the fourth century or earlier writers to signify 'blame' or 'censure.' ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι is used six times by Isocrates, never with this meaning,¹ but in its commonest sense 'to take hold of.' Of the two MSS. readings, then, neither is satisfactory, but ὑπόληψις is preferable, both as making sense, though not very good sense, and as having the authority of classical writers. Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth suggesting that the original reading in the *De Pace* was ἐπιπλήξεις, which would very easily become confused with either of the MSS. readings. This word is used by Aeschines² and by the author of the *Eroticus*.³ The latter work, as has already been indicated by Blass, can be conclusively shown to be the work of a pupil of Isocrates, though the actual name of the author must remain doubtful. ἐπιπλήξεις would give exactly the required sense both here and in the *Busiris* passage, and though the word does not actually occur in the extant writings of Isocrates, the verb ἐπιπλήττειν is frequently employed.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

MANCHESTER.

¹ The only passage that is in the least doubtful is *Busiris*, § 9. Even here ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων does not mean 'to blame,' but 'to take hold of' and consider other people's argu-

ments instead of bringing forward one's own.

² Aeschin. *Timar.* § 177.

³ Pseudo-Demosth. *Erot.* § 18.

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ON *ETH. NIC.* I. c. 5.

I.

IN *E.N.* I. c. 5 Aristotle is considering divers views as to what constitutes Eudaimonia. He told us in c. 4, 2-3 that there are many conflicting opinions on the subject. The Many identify Happiness with some palpable good, such as pleasure, wealth, honour, but the Wise¹ identify it with something beyond the Many, while [Plato] denied it to be any specific good at all. Of all these views we should (§ 4, cf. Michelet, p. 20) consider such as (i.) have many adherents or (ii.) are considered to be reasonable. Accordingly, the Universal Good is considered in c. 6 after consideration in c. 5 of five particular goods—pleasure in the form of bodily pleasure, honour, wealth, virtue [and, implied in the theoretic Life, wisdom].² These five goods are brought into relation with four Lives—viz. pleasure with the apolaustic; honour and virtue with the political; [wisdom] with the theoretic; wealth with the business or money-making Life; and the first three Lives are called *προέχοντες*. There is nothing in this introduction of the Lives to astonish us; for, as Aristotle himself tells us, *τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου κρίνεται* (1179a 18). But there is much difference of opinion as to the argument he draws from the Lives. According to the view now submitted for consideration, the argument is that when a specific good, which some suppose to be Eudaimonia, is also the end of a 'pre-eminent' Life, then there is some *prima facie* probability in the view that that specific good is Eudaimonia.

The last words before the 'digression,' (*δόξας*) *δοκούσας ἔχειν τινὰ λόγον* (1095a 30), are picked up in the first sentence after it (here *γὰρ* is merely resumptive) by *οὐκ ἀλόγως εἰκόασιν ἐκ τῶν βίων ὑπολαμβάνειν* (b 15), in which *οὐκ ἀλόγως* qualifies *ὑπολαμβάνειν*; and they reappear (b 21) in *τυγχάνουσι δὲ λόγου* 'they get a hearing' (Burnet), i.e. their view is considered reasonable. So §§ 1-3 of c. 5 amount to this—the Lives show that it is not without reason that the coarsest hold (cf. 95a 23) that the Good is pleasure, for pleasure is the end of the apolaustic, i.e. of a 'pre-eminent' Life. To us this would have been plainer if (i.) instead of the personal *εἰκόασιν* in b 15 we had had something like *οὐκ ἀλόγως, ὡς εἰκεν ἐκ τῶν βίων* (cf. 1123a 34, 70a 26, 80a 33; *Met.* 1090b 19), *ὑπολαμβάνουσιν*, and if (ii.) the proof had been added at once after *τὴν ἡδονήν* in some such words as *πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὁμοπαθοῦσι Σαρδαναπάλλω*. But the sentence goes off the straight track with

¹ *οἱ μὲν γὰρ* (1095a 22) is answered in sense, though not in form, by *συνειδότες . . . θαυμάζουσιν*. These words take the place of something like 'but the Wise say Eudaimonia is some good that is not palpable like wealth, viz. wisdom or virtue.'

² The same group of ideals and corresponding modes of living (with the omission of wisdom, which was knocked out by the later schools) appears in Hor. *Epist.* I. 6, 29-66.

b 17 διὸ καὶ . . . ἀπολαυστικόν. This is followed by the explanatory *τρεῖς γὰρ εἰσι μάλιστα . . . θεωρητικός*. Then οἱ μὲν οὖν κτλ. (b 19) restates and explains τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν . . . ἀπολαυστικόν. Its first clause οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ . . . προαιρούμενοι repeats with additions conveying criticism of the apolaustic Life the statement made just before the explanatory note, viz. τὸν βίον ἀγαπῶσι (sc. οἱ πολλοὶ κ. φ.) τὸν ἀπολαυστικόν. In its second clause, the words *τυγχάνουσι λόγου* (b 21) pick up the earlier statement (b 14) τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . οὐκ ἀλόγως εἰκάσιν . . . ὑπολαμβάνειν . . . τὴν ἡδονήν, while διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς κτλ. explains εἰκάσιν ἐκ τῶν βίων.

Just the same argument supports honour. The long period that begins at b 14 τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν κτλ. bifurcates at ὑπολαμβάνειν (cf. Stewart *ad loc.*) and has two subjects and two tertiary predicates. Its construction may be shown thus:

τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ
ἀλόγως εἰκάσιν ἐκ τῶν βίων ὑπολαμβάνειν
οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ κ. φ. τ. ἡδονήν

(there follow five and a half lines on pleasure)

οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες κ. πρ. τιμὴν

(there follow seven and a half lines on honour).

We must take with οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες . . . τιμὴν the whole of τὸ γὰρ . . . ὑπολαμβάνειν, not omitting οὐκ ἀλόγως: 'the identification by the refined of the Good with honour is shown by the Lives to be not unreasonable.' How it is not unreasonable is explained at once by b 23 τοῦ γὰρ πολιτικοῦ . . . τέλος, 'for honour is the end of the political Life' (1177b 13 with 1124a 17), which is (b 18) one of the 'pre-eminent' Lives.

Aristotle might have continued the long period of §§ 1-5 with *ἐνιοὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν*, and again *ἐνιοὶ δὲ σοφίαν*. And though there is a change of form, the argument for virtue is the same as for pleasure and honour. 'Virtue might be considered to be the end of the political Life' [in which case the view would be confirmed of those wise people who on other grounds hold that the Good is virtue]. So he might have argued for wisdom also, but he prefers to deal with that good later.

The theoretic Life is the third (96a 4) of the 'pre-eminent' Lives, and these are (95b 17) *τρεῖς μάλιστα*, just three in number; cf. for *μάλιστα* E.E. 1214a 31 *ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα*. The business man is a 'little' person—I take *βαιός* from Aspasius—[and so his Life is far from corroborating the view of those who (95a 25) think wealth is Happiness]. With this personal use of *βαιός* in contrast with greatness cf. *Ajax* 160:

μετὰ γὰρ μεγάλων βαιὸς ἄριστ' ἂν
καὶ μέγας ὀρθοῖθ' ὑπὸ μικροτέρων.

Compare also the Epicurean use of the form *μικρός*, 'teeny-weeny,' in a somewhat similar context (Usener, *Epicurea*, fr. 560* = Plut. *adu. Colot.* 1127A):

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τοὺς δὲ πολιτικούς ἀνδρας ἐπὶ γέλωτι καὶ καταλύσει τῆς δόξης ὀνομάζουσι μόνον, τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐσχηκέναι τι λέγοντες ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μικρόν, οὕτως ἐν τῷ ῥήματι φράζοντες.

II.

The logical predicate of the sentence τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν κτλ. is contained in the words οὐκ ἀλόγως, and these go closely with τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν immediately preceding and with ὑπολαμβάνειν . . . τὴν ἡδονήν (. . . τιμὴν). The Lives (i.) do not show that men do in fact hold certain views; but that they hold them not unreasonably. It would be superfluous for Aristotle to prove from the Lives that some men do have as their ideal pleasure or wealth; for we have just been told it as a fact (95a 23). Besides, the views of the Many obviously are to be ascertained by asking them, not by *a priori* reasoning. Again, (ii.) we must not take ἐκ τῶν βίων with ὑπολαμβάνειν as though we were being told that men first considered the Lives and then formed ideals in consequence; and we should understand with οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες κ. πρ. τιμὴν the whole of τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . ὑπολαμβάνειν, by no means omitting οὐκ ἀλόγως. In regard to pleasure we are expressly told (b 17 διὸ καὶ) that approval of the apolaustic Life is the consequence (not the cause) of the idealization of pleasure (cf. *Pol.* 1314b 31). Hence we must reject such interpretations as this of Aspasius (H. 10. 13): τριῶν γὰρ ὄντων βίων . . . οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐκ τούτων τῶν βίων ὀρμώμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλην εὐδαιμονίαν τίθενται διὰ τὸ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν μηδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ βίον τέλειον. Nor (iii.) should we take οὐκ ἀλόγως with ἐκ τῶν βίων and suppose we are being told that people make their ideals in conformity with *their own* Lives; so Eustratius (34, 6), καὶ φησιν ὅτι οὐκ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ ἀκολουθίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος βίον τότε εἶναι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ τότε ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ κ. φ. τ. ἡδονήν (cf. *Paraphrast.* H. 7, 23). In spite of ἀγαπῶσι and προαιρούμενοι (17 and 20) we must not be misled into supposing that the Lives are the own lives of all, or anything like all, those who idealize these various goods. From the circumstances of human life the vast majority of mankind can 'prefer' the apolaustic Life only in the sense that they would lead it if they could. 'One swallow does not make spring'; and 'to have a good time' and 'do oneself well' occasionally is not to live the apolaustic Life: 'nec appellatur omnino uita nisi confecta atque absoluta' (*de Fin.* II. § 87). Those who live the apolaustic Life may be many among potentates (95b 21), or even among those who are deemed happy (1176b 12); but they are few relatively to all men, even if we exclude slaves.

We have, in fact, to distinguish in connexion with c. 5 no less than three groups, though they may to some extent overlap. There are (i.) unphilosophic people whose ideals are simply the name and spontaneous expression of their character (1113a 25): these are οἱ πολλοί of 95a 21, of whom in c. 5. the πολλοὶ κ. φ. and the χαρίεντες (cf. *Pol.* 1267a 1 and 40) κ. πρ. are sections. Then there are (ii.) men who actually live the Lives, i.e. persons like Sardana-

pallus, or, say, Aristides and Pericles. This group ii., when Aristotle is speaking of the political Life, is only implied, viz. in the words τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου (b 23): at least, the subject of εὐλασσι (b 26) is the χαρίεντες of b 22 (cf. 1159a 22) rather than statesmen as such. But (i.) and (ii.) are separated when, speaking of the apolaustic Life, he says (b 21) τυγχάνουσι δὲ λόγον—sc. (i.) οἱ πολλοὶ κ. φ.—διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις—i.e. (ii.)—ὁ μ. Σ. The third group (iii.) are reflective persons who find in the acknowledged 'pre-eminence' of this or that Life a proof that its special good is the Good; and these, not (i.), are the persons of whom it might be correctly said, to use the words already quoted from Aspasius, that ἐκ τούτων τῶν βίων ὁρμώμενοι (observe that Aspasius is free from the error 'their' Lives), they identify Eudaimonia with the good of one or other of the 'pre-eminent' Lives. They (iii.) are not distinctly mentioned in this chapter; but they are implied in (b 21) τυγχάνουσι δὲ λόγον. The Many 'get a hearing'; i.e. their view is considered reasonable, δοκεῖ ἔχειν τινα λόγον, to apply the language of c. 4, 4. But by whom? By (iii.) thinkers, persons who are induced—*inter alia*—by the admitted 'pre-eminence' of the Life of sensual pleasure to think the idealization of pleasure is at least not unreasonable.

Of this group (iii.) we have a specimen in Polyarchus, a voluptuary 'not wholly strange to philosophy,' who puts forward a similar appeal to the behaviour of potentates in a passage (apud Athen. 545) from the *Life of Archytas*, by Aristoxenus.¹ He says that Nature, 'whenever she is speaking her own utterance' (cf. Diog. Laert. II. 89), bids men follow after [bodily] pleasures, and she declares that a *τεκμήριον ἰσχυρόν*, that indulgence, not temperance, is in accordance with man's constitution, is τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν ἐξουσίας ἐπιλάβωνται μέγεθος ἀξιόχρεων ἐχούσης, ἐπὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς καταφέρεισθαι καὶ τοῦτο νομίζειν τέλος εἶναι τῆς ἐξουσίας. He then cites the kings of the Persians and the contemporary tyrants, and the kings of the Lydians, the Medes, and still earlier the Syrians. (Sardanapallus will be included under the last, cf. *de Fin.* II. § 106, *Tusc.* V. § 101 = Arist. fr. 1488b 38 sqq.) For similar reasoning see 1176b 16 δοκεῖ μὲν οὖν εὐδαιμονικὰ ταῦτα εἶναι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν δυναστείαις ἐν τούτοις ἀποσυχολάζειν, οὐδὲν δ' ἴσως σημείον οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν. Sensual pleasures 'are considered' to constitute Happiness; i.e. reflective persons, people like Polyarchus, our group (iii.), regard the debauchery of potentates as a *σημεῖον* in favour of pleasure. So in I. 5, 3 the coarsest 'get a hearing' for their crude hedonism, sc. with some thoughtful persons, because many potentates feel like Sardanapallus.

III.

Had we the various discussions to which reference is made in 1096a 3 and 9, the reasoning intended in *E.N.* I. c. 5 would doubtless be more easily followed; as it is, we have to scrutinize the chapter carefully in the search for

¹ We are perhaps warranted in finding here some reminiscences of this chapter and X. c. 6.

Similarly with I. c. 4, cf. *Harm. Elem.* p. 30 = Westphal II. p. 57.

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clues. A clue to the nature of the 'pre-eminence' of the Three Lives—wherein lies the argument in favour of their respective goods—is given, I think, in these words of § 3, *τυγχάνουσι δὲ λόγου διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὄμ. Σ.* That in this phrase *ἐξουσίαι* means positions of power in the State (cf. *Gorg.* 468e, 525D-6b), and *οἱ ἐν τ. ἐξ.* are potentates—whether Asiatic monarchs or Greek tyrants, or simply powerful statesmen like Pericles—is shown by 1158a 28, 59a 19, and by the phrase *τοὺς ἐν δυναστείαις* used in the parallel passage 1176b 12-17 (cf. 1179a 14). The Life in which such greatness is possible, is the 'political' Life; and that is why it is reckoned a pre-eminent Life, one which is, literally, extraordinary. Many of these potentates indulge in the apolaustic Life; and so it too is pre-eminent, but only with a derived pre-eminence. It is not pre-eminent because it is lived by private voluptuaries such as 'Smindyrides the Sybarite,' who is coupled for luxury with Sardanapallus by Chamaeleon or Theophrastus *περὶ ἡδονῆς* (Athen. 511c, cf. 273b-c). He is joined with Sardanapallus also in the passage on the Lives in *E.E.* (1216a 16); but in *E.E.* the important thing about the three Lives is their voluntariness, this being the reason why they are reckoned happy. In *E.N.* it is Temporal Power that renders the political and the apolaustic Lives pre-eminent. Now, in divers times and places, we find Spiritual Power rivalling the Temporal; and in the Greek world—so far at least as the philosophers could see that world—the place taken by the Spiritual Power in other societies was occupied by the Wise, by men such as Thales or Anaxagoras, who knew things *περιττὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ δαιμόνια* (1141b 6), and were admired perhaps also for their *ἐλευθερία*, their detachment from the ordinary cares and ties of human beings (cf. Clemens apud W. L. Newman, *Pol.* Vol. III., p. 322)¹. The Life of the Wise then is also pre-eminent in dignity—which is perhaps what Eustratius intended by his *τοὺς ἐμφανεστέρους τῶν βίων* (34, 15)—and so, I think, we get the three *προέχοντες βίοι*.²

The argument in connexion with them I take to be simply the following. Since Eudaimonia is a thing that all desire and since possession of such a thing gains a man *εὐδοξία* (*Rhet.* I. 5, 8, 1361a 26), therefore it is reasonable to seek the happy man among the *ἐνδοξοί*, and therefore in one of the pre-eminent Lives. Hence the three great Lives supply an argument each in favour of its respective good; but the 'littleness' of the money-maker, and therefore of the business Life makes that Life into an argument against wealth.

Aspasius indeed says (see § 2) that, starting from these Lives, people make this or that good to be Eudaimonia *διὰ τὸ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν μηδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ βίον τέλειον*. The last words imply that the three Lives are a list of the possibly perfect Lives and therefore of the possibly happy Lives. And (11, 2)

¹ Clem. Al. *Str.* II. 130. 497 P.

² In Stob. II. 144 W the reading *περιττὰς* of P may be right, though Wachsmuth prefers *τριττὰς*: *βίων δὲ περιττὰς ἰδέας εἶναι, πρακτικόν, θεωρητικόν, σύνθετον ἐξ ἁμφοῖν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀπολαυστικὸν ἥτιονα*

ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον εἶναι κτλ. These last words imply that the apolaustic Life also had pretensions to be *περιττός*, and so we get again the three pre-eminent Lives of our chapter; for the compound Life is not a distinct type.

he explains *βαιός* 'little' by *ὡς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν βαιός*. He seems, then, to regard *προέχοντες* as meaning pre-eminent in regard to Happiness. Similarly according to *E.E.* 1215a 26 we start from an existing division of men's Lives according to their relation to Happiness into (a) those that admittedly fall short of Happiness and (b) those that are reckoned happy. Under (a) fall Lives directed to *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα*, viz. reputation (*δόξα*)¹ and wealth. Under (b) fall the Lives *οὓς οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας τυγχάνοντες προαιροῦνται ζῆν ἅπαντες*, i.e. all those who, having abundance of necessities,² really can do what they like, choose these Lives, the apolaustic, political, and philosophic. These three, then, are the only Lives in which men place Eudaimonia (1216a 28); and they correspond to the three goods—*phronesis*, virtue, pleasure (or, as we might say, Intellection, Conation, Feeling in their highest forms)—in which, or in some of which, Happiness must consist (1214a 30). Evidently *E.E.*'s division of men's Lives presupposes that the claims of wealth and honour (or at least of reputation) are already recognized as worthless. This is the situation when these Lives recur in *E.N.* X. cc. 6-8; but when *E.N.* I. c. 5 opens, the situation is that a number of pretenders to Eudaimonia have appeared in c. 4, among them honour and wealth; nothing has yet been said for or against any of them; and the views of the Many have not been dismissed in *E.N.*, whereas in *E.E.* they have been turned out (1214b 34) as quite unworthy of consideration. Consequently, to start *E.N.* I. c. 5 by declaring there were only three possibly happy Lives would be quite unwarranted. Aspasius seems to have felt something of this in connexion with his explanation of *βαιός* as 'little in regard to Happiness'; for he manufactures an argument³ in support of this assertion by continuing (11, 3) *ὁ γὰρ πλοῦτος οὐ τὸ ζητούμενον ἀγαθὸν ἀλλὰ χρήσιμον κτλ.*, where we should discern, not variant readings, but the commentator's resourcefulness.

'Little in regard to virtue' may seem a suitable meaning for *βαιός* if we look at *Pol.* 1278a 20, 1319a 26, 1328b 40; and 'pre-eminent in virtue' would appear appropriate for two of the Lives according to *Pol.* 1324a 30. But we want something that lets in the apolaustic Life. Besides, whether virtue contributes to happiness is still to be decided. Many thought it did not: cf. *Hor. Epist.* I. 6, 31; also Polyarchus in Aristoxenus *l.l.* (Athen. 545b).

The very term *προέχοντες* should deter us from mixing up the three Lives of this chapter with the three *πρώτα γένη* of men, *φιλόσοφον*, *φιλόνικον*, *φιλοκερδές*, in *Rep.* 581c. This Platonic scheme embraces all human beings like the similar classification attributed to Pythagoras; at least it includes all who are not slaves. The list in I. c. 5 is not all-embracing: 'pre-eminent' Lives imply other Lives that are not pre-eminent just as e.g. 'liberal' professions imply others that are not liberal. So the Paraphrast is wrong with

¹ The author of *E.E.* may have set a higher value on *τιμὴ* taken in some restricted sense: see 1232b 17 sq.

² *ἐξουσία* is used, not as in our c. 5, but as in

Pol. 1255b 35.

³ Similarly the reading or conjecture *ἀβιος*, which would, I suppose, pass easily into *βαίος*, requires an argument in support of it.

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his καθολικοὶ βίοι (7, 25). We have not here a list of generic Lives into which all human Lives must fit. We have not even the three most prevalent Lives; for the business Life is far commoner than any of them.

IV.

The idea that Aristotle could not have introduced any Life in I. c. 5 other than the three προέχοντες has had great influence on commentators. Eustratius does not indeed deny the money-making to be a fourth Life, though his description of the three Lives (34, 20) as ἐμπαθής, μετριοπαθής, ἀπαθής (with the last compare *E.E.* 1215b 12 τὸν ζῶντα ἀλύπως καὶ καθαρῶς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον κτλ. in reference to the third Life) really makes them into a threefold all-embracing scheme. Still, he does not (38, 19) allow Aristotle to talk (Eustratius had of course βίαιος, not βαιός) of anything lower than pre-eminent Lives: 'Having said the most pre-eminent Lives were three, but not having mentioned the business Life, ἐπεὶ κατενόει τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον τυχόντας ἀλλ' ἐνόητε καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖς οἷος Μίδας ὁ Φρύξ . . . καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἐπιτηδεύοντας πρὸς κτήσιν χρημάτων, accordingly he talks a little about this too.' But the Paraphrast (8, 17) gets rid of the fourth Life by tucking it away inside the apolaustic and the political, two of his generic Lives. One might have thought that Aspasius would have had room for an imperfect Life beside the three perfect ones; but he also reduces four to three (10, 14) by substituting for πολιτικός the word χρηματιστικός: τριῶν γὰρ ὄντων βίων τοῦ τε θεωρ. καὶ τοῦ ἀπολ. καὶ τοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ. In his day the last word covered public as well as private business (see L. and S.), and is, I presume, the word that Varro translates by *negotiosus* when he talks (apud Aug. *de Civ. Dei* XIX. cc. 1-3; ed Dombart II. 349, 5; 351, 6) of three Lives—the *otiosa*, the *negotiosa*, and the mixed. This seems to be a scheme of generic (351, 22; 355, 23) rather than perfect Lives, though public business was at least most prominent in the second Life in Varro's mind (349, 8; 351, 15). However that may be, Aspasius has taken χρηματιστικός from this list (σχολαστικός, χρημ., μικτός) in order to bring the money-makers and politicians under one head as men of business, and so keep the total number of Lives in this passage down to three.

But while Aspasius cuts down Aristotle's Lives from four to three, he multiplies the varieties of men leading the political or, as he calls it, business Life. Aristotle intended one and the same group of men in §§ 4-6. But Aspasius assigns honour and virtue as ends to different groups of men. For when he comes to deal with (1095b 26) ἔτι δ' εἰκόασι τὴν τιμὴν διώκειν κτλ., we find him writing ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι εἰς πεφυκότες ἀσπάζονται τὴν τιμὴν, διὰ τοῦτο φαίνονται διώκειν αὐτὴν κτλ. To these two lots add the χρηματιστής, and there are no fewer than three groups under the χρηματιστικός βίος. Now *E.E.* also has three groups under the political Life. These are (1216a 19-26): (i.) ἐνιοὶ who choose noble actions δόξης χάριν, and (ii.) the true πολιτικοί who choose them αὐτῶν χάριν, and then (iii.) yet another group (a 26-7)—οἱ δὲ

πολλοὶ χρημάτων καὶ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν ἄπτονται τοῦ ζῆν οὕτως. Evidently the last group is only the *χρηματιστής* of *E.N.*, i.e. the author of *E.E.* supposed that Aristotle went back in § 8 to the political Life of §§ 4-6. Thus, while Aspasius folded the business man in the second Life by changing its name to the vaguer *χρηματιστικός*, *E.E.* keeping the *πολιτικός βίος* converted him into a money-making public man; being mindful perhaps of *E.N.* 1134b 7, 63b 5-11; *Rep.* 344a, 347a. Still, though the methods are different—Aspasius changes the Life of public business into the Life of business in general, *E.E.* changes the money-making man in general into the man who makes money out of public Life—yet by both Aspasius and *E.E.* the *χρηματιστής* of our c. 5, 8 is put in the same Life with the persons of c. 5, 4-6, so that Aristotle is saved from discussing four Lives after saying there were three. In place of Aristotle's one group of honour-seekers we get in both Aspasius and *E.E.* two groups, seeking respectively (i.) honour, (ii.) through honour consciousness of virtue (Asp.), or (i.) honour, (ii.) virtuous action without regard to honour (*E.E.*). While we see how Aspasius has got his second group out of *E.N.*, *E.E.*'s second group appears at first sight to be an original improvement on *E.N.*, especially as the analysis of love of honour in § 5 is ignored again by *E.E.* (1239a 21-33) when it recurs 1159a 12-27 and *E.E.* has no virtue corresponding to that of IV. c. 4 (on which difficulties were felt in ancient times, see Asp. 117, 29); i.e. its author probably disapproved of Aristotle's whole attitude to honour. But Eustratius (35, 28) finds nearly the same group implied on *σχεδόν* (95b 23): τὸ δὲ σχεδὸν εἶπεν ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν τέλειον ποιοῦσι, Socrates being an instance, as is shown by his choosing death rather than τῆς κλοπίμου σωτηρίας. We see now that *E.E.*'s (1) *ἐνιοὶ* who act *δόξης χάριν* correspond directly to τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου *σχεδόν* [τιμῇ] τέλος (where in fact *σχεδόν* is just *modeste affirmantis* as in 95a 17, *Rhet.* 1389b 14-18), and its (2) are the good people implied by *σχεδόν*. So here again by different methods of misinterpretation *E.E.* and Aspasius gain the same end, which in this case is to get rid of the general statement that honour is the end of the political Life.¹

V.

If the suggestion be correct that *E.E.* 1216a 26-7 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ χρημάτων καὶ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν ἄπτονται τοῦ ζῆν οὕτως reflects *E.N.* ὁ δὲ χρηματιστής . . . ἐστίν, we cannot doubt that *E.E.* points back, not to the *βαίος* of Aspasius,

¹ Similarly *E.E.*'s rejection of the Many (1214b 34) may be misinterpretation (due to philosophic superiority) rather than originality. We can make Aristotle dismiss the Many in the words (95a 29) *ικανὸν δὲ . . . λόγον* if we (1) give a good sense to *ἐπιπολαζούσας* (Eustr. 30, 7 explains, *δοαὶ μάλιστα ἐγγίξουσι τῷ ἀληθεῖ εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐφικνοῦνται*) or (2) incorrectly take *ἡ* not as disjunctive but as adding *δοκούσας ἔχειν τινὰ λόγον* as an explanation of *ἐπιτ.* Now Asp. (9, 24) simply repeats the words, and it may be that he

did so because he thought *δοκούσας* κτλ. was itself explanatory of *ἐπιπολαζούσας*, since just before (9, 7) he has himself used *ἡ* as merely explanatory.

Again, *E.E.*'s epithet *φορτικός* (1215a 28) for the arts that merely aim at *δόξα* may be merely *E.N.*'s *ἐπιπολαύτερον* (95b 24); since Asp. (10, 17) for *οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ φορτικώτατοι* writes *οἱ π. κ. ἐπιπολαύτατοι*, which makes *φορτικός* and *ἐπιβλαιο* synonymous. On the other hand see *Theaet.* 176c; also cf. *E.E.* 1230b 16.

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but to the vulgate βίαιος—'the money-maker,' i.e. the money-making politician, 'is a violent sort of person,' i.e. uses his public position to extort money (cf. *Gorg.* 466c). It will not, however, follow that βίαιος, being as early as *E.E.*, must also be correct, for *E.E.* 1225b 3-5, like Aspasius (65, 6-8; cf. Anon. 145, 12-13), presupposes both παίσας and πίσας or ποτίσας in *IIIIA* 14. And βίαιος seems impossible however we take it.

Prima facie, since such words in -της properly are nouns and denote agents, but a human being cannot be called βίαιος because he is engaged ἐν βιαίῳ πράξει (Adam on *Rep.* 399c), the words ὁ χρηματιστής βιαίος τις ἐστίν mean 'the money-maker is a violent sort of man.' This might do if Aristotle were really talking of a species of statesman; but whether the account just given of *E.E.* is right or not so far as it concerns *E.E.*, it is wrong to combine the χρηματιστής with the πολιτικοί, who are separated off by the mention in between of the theoretic Life. As an epithet of the money-maker in general (there is no more justification for limiting the word here to the unnatural χρηματιστική of *Pol.* I. than there is for limiting the meaning of πλούτος) it is not suitable; for though in pursuit of wealth men sin both by force and by fraud, yet fraud is the characteristic crime of private business rather than force. Compare the πλουτεῖν ἀδόλως in the scholium apud *Gorg.* 451e; *uerbe aliquid*, *iura* Pers. V. 137. Hence we must reject *latrocinium sapit* in Zell's translation, or the βίαν ἐνδείκνυται πρὸς τὸ κτήσασθαι τὸ ζητούμενον of Eustratius (38, 24),¹ or Aquinas's *pecunia per uolentiam acquiritur et per uolentiam perditur*. Consequently, most modern scholars, including Bonitz and Bywater in his index, are of opinion that βίος must be understood from θεωρητικός just before and τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου, etc., earlier in the chapter. The sentence thus supplemented is then interpreted in a variety of ways.

One interpretation is 'compulsory': οὐ πολλοῖς ἐστὶν ἐραστός, says the Paraphrast (8, 21), ὀλίγοι γὰρ εἴλοντο πάσης τῆς ἐν βίῳ σπουδῆς τέλος τὰ χρήματα ἔχειν. But the persons who concern us here are just those whom the Paraphrast calls few, viz. those who consider wealth to be Eudaimonia, and therefore live the money-making Life voluntarily; and these are not such a negligible quantity that the business Life might here be called compulsory without any qualification or explanation. It is by no means the case that most men only earn so long as they have not enough to live on. This may be true to some extent of those whose opportunities of acquiring wealth are at best small, viz. the labouring classes; for example, the potter of *Rep.* 421d. But as Solon said (13, 73), those who have most, διπλασίως σπεύδουσι; cf. *Hor. Sat.* I. 1, 61, on the *bona pars hominum*, where notice *libenter* v. 63. It is the man who knows when he has enough that cannot be found, Pers. 6, 80; cf. *Pol.* 1257b 39 (where observe οἰόμενοι δεῖν); 66b 37 (προαιρετικοί); 71a 17 (τῶν γ' ἀδικημάτων τῶν ἐκουσίων). The wealth-seekers then are neither forced

¹ This does not seem influenced by Matt. 11, 12 βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν.

nor rare; and as they are the persons who concern us in this chapter, not the man who toils to fill his stomach, the epithet 'compulsory' for their Life would here be wholly inappropriate. *E.E.* indeed asserts (1215a 35) that all who are ἐπ' ἐξουσίας choose one of the three Lives, the apolaustic, etc. (see § 3); but we must understand this as true only of persons of sound sense or the like (at any rate the Many are not being considered, see 1214b 34), just as the statement *Pol.* 1255b 35 that ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν engage in politics or philosophy, is only true of the φιλοτιμότατοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν *Pol.* 1324a 30. In *E.E.* 1214b 6-11 wealth is recognized as one of the things that a man who can live κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν may make the σκοπὸς τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν. Plainly for such a man the money-making Life will be voluntary. He may be mistaking means for ends, but that will not make his actions involuntary for Aristotle (1110b 31).

Grant appealed to *E.E.* 1215a 26-33 as confirming the rendering 'compulsory' in *E.N.*, for in that passage of *E.E.* the Lives directed to money-making in its various forms are included among those that are considered not to be happy, but to be lived τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάριν. But this would prove too much, since the Lives devoted to δόξα (good fame) are likewise so reckoned. Besides, action to secure necessities is voluntary for Aristotle; cf. *Pol.* 1258a 40 on legitimate business, ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἐπαινουμένης. If praised, it is voluntary (1109b 31). No doubt we read in Demosthenes, in *Eubul.* 1308, § 31, ἡμεῖς δ' ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ ταινίας πωλεῖν καὶ ζῆν οὐχ ὅτινα τρόπον βουλόμεθα (cf. *Gorg.* 467d). But Aristotle would not call such living compulsory. Indeed, if it were, nearly all human living would be compulsory; for we read 1162b 35 βούλεσθαι μὲν πάντας ἢ τοὺς πλείστους τὰ καλὰ, προαιρεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ὠφέλιμα. Even the looser sense of 'compulsory' (for which ἀκούσιος would be more suitable), according to which we do not act ἐκόντες for the sake of means as such (*E.E.* 1215b 27), will not do here; for, as was said, the man we have to consider is the man who puts happiness in wealth, i.e. for whom wealth is the End. But if 'compulsory' will not do, neither will the very clever division which Burnet accepts, ὁ χρ. βία ὅστις ἐστίν. And this reading has the further disadvantage that ὅστις ἐστίν is meaningless, as there is no room here for affectation of ignorance or of indifference as to who the business man or money-maker is.

The author of the *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1428b 9 says that on account of gain we often τὴν φύσιν βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἥθη προειλόμεθα πράττειν, but Aristotle would not call such action compulsory (1113b 5). The would-be millionaire is not constrained by things too strong for human nature (1110a 25; 1 Cor. 10, 13), things πεφυκότα βιάζεσθαι τὴν φύσιν (*E.E.* 1225a 22). Nor if the money-makers (like the ambitious, *Pol.* 1323a 37) treat means as ends (*Pol.* 1257b 25) can their Life be called βίαιος in the sense that it violates the nature of things. This word βίαιος is never simply synonymous with παρὰ φύσιν, and the terms coincide only when a body's natural motion is overcome

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by external physical force (ὕπ' ἄλλον *Phys.* 255b 33). We could not call cannibalism and the other practices of *E.N.* VII. c. 5 *βίαια*.

There remains the possibility that *βίαιος* means ἐν βιάῳ πράξει, 'the business Life is a severe one' or 'full of inevitable hardships,' or, as Gillies translates, 'a life of money-making and commerce is plainly a state of toil and trouble,' *βίαιος* being used as when combined with πόννοι or τροφή (*Pol.* 1335b 9, 38b 41). It might be beside the mark to say that this would apply also to the political Life (*Rep.* 399a, 1117b 7, 77b 6-18; and cf. ἀρετά, πολύμοχθε κτλ., and *Heracl.* 625 á δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων), and even to the theoretic (or at any rate the philosophic) Life (*de Fin.* V. § 57; *Pers.* 3, 79). And for sense we can quote Pindar, fr. 123 (Athen. 601d), περὶ χρήμασι μοχθίζει βιάως, or *Gorg.* 467d; Hor. *Sat.* I. 4, 30, *Epist.* I. 16, 70-1; *Pers.* 5, 146-8. But even this will not do; for this, like the other interpretations that give a passive sense to *βίαιος*, requires us, as has been already remarked, to make *χρηματιστής* into an adjective qualifying *βίος* understood, which is surely impossible. Richards writes (*Aristotelica*, p. 1), 'χρηματιστής (*βίος*) is like *βίος μονώτης* in 1097b 9 . . . and countless other cases of words in -της used adjectivally.' But surely the brackets make all the difference, especially here where the Lives have so far been specified by adjectives in -ικός, and *χρηματιστικός* was ready to hand. Contrast *Soph. El.* I. 6, 165a 22, ὁ σοφιστής χρηματιστής with I. 5, 171b 28, ἡ σοφιστική ἐστίν . . . χρηματιστική τις. The sudden introduction of the form in -της as an adjective qualifying a noun understood would be an extreme instance of what Roemer (*Rhet.* xxviii.) calls the 'inconcinnitas Aristoteli propria et plane singularis.' A most unfortunate instance; for if Aristotle wrote what we find in the MSS., then, whatever he intended to say, he said in fact, 'the business man is a violent sort of person.' The same feeling that deters us from inserting *βίος* in the text, or from changing *χρηματιστής* to *χρηματιστικός*, should induce us to suppose that when Aristotle changed from -ικός as in θεωρητικός, etc., to -τής, he did so because he meant to talk of the man (cf. Ramsauer, p. 17), not of the Life.

There remains, however, one way of getting the sense, 'the business man has a hard Life.' The Antiqua gives *pecuniosus autem quis uiolenter est* (cf. Aquinas's *per uiolentiam* quoted above). If this is not a mere blunder, it points to *βιάως*; could the true reading be *βιάως πονεῖ*, the origin of the error being the passing of ΠΟ into ΤΙC? But no conjecture is necessary if we can accept *βαιός*.

VI.

The interpretation now advanced of c. 5, 1-7, is in no way dependent on our reading *βαιός* in § 8. But a point in favour of *βαιός* is that it carries on the argument that runs through the preceding portion of the chapter: the claims made for (i.) pleasure, and (ii.) honour or (iii.) virtue, [and (iv.) wisdom], get some confirmation from their being the goods of the three pre-eminent Lives; the business man is a 'little' fellow, i.e. his Life is the reverse of pre-eminent, and so (v.) wealth lacks this confirmation. The reasoning thus

extracted from § 8 seems quite in place; so that, though Aspasius is not a strong authority to set against the MSS.—he has some bad readings, see Bywater, *Contr.* p. 3—yet merely as a conjecture¹ βαιός seems deserving of consideration. Two questions arise: (i.) Is it improbable that Aristotle would call the business man 'little'? And (ii.) is the use of βαιός here so unlikely that we must, with Bywater, *ibid.* p. 3, regard the word as a mere error of transcription?

As to the first question, Eustratius (38, 19), as was mentioned in § 4, thought that Aristotle introduced the money-making Life as another pre-eminent Life added by a sort of afterthought. But though some potentates have been money-makers, yet they are few among potentates, and very few indeed in proportion to the total number of wealth-seekers; and so the business Life has not been closely associated with monarchs and such persons like the apolaustic Life. Besides, Aristotle is writing carefully here, and it is quite unlikely that after saying there were three pre-eminent Lives he should introduce a fourth pre-eminent Life without explanation; whereas, since he has undertaken to consider views that have many adherents (1095a 30) as well as those that the wise approve, there is nothing surprising in his adding a Life that, though not pre-eminent, is very prevalent. There can be no doubt of the popularity, then as now, of the view that wealth constitutes happiness, or at any rate is its immediate and adequate cause: compare the use of εὐδαίμων and beatus to mean 'wealthy,' and 'wealthy' itself and 'well off.' But a Life is not pre-eminent because many live it or approve of it; and, presumably, apart from petty traders, the main types of the business man for the ancients were οἱ πλέοντες (*Gorg.* 467d; cf. *Hor. Sat.* I. 1, 6; 4, 29; *Epist.* I. 1, 45, where Wilkins refers to Solon 13, 43; I. 16, 71; *Pers.* 5, 54; 6, 75); bankers or money-lenders; labour-contractors; factory-owners. Such persons did not rank high *qua* business men: Nicias was not eminent because he hired out gangs of slaves to work the mines but because he was a leading statesman. We read, it is true, ὁ πλούσιος ὑπὸ πολλῶν τιμᾶται καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ ὁ σοφός (*Rep.* 582c). These are strong words and the πλούσιος is in good company. But we are not concerned here with the rich as such. There is no special Life of the rich; they may be found living any Life; and the apolaustic Life is possible for them alone. The man we have to do with here is one who may or may not already be rich, may or may not have ideas of leading the apolaustic Life, or even of being virtuous, after he has made his pile; but as χρηματιστής he is a δημιουργός of wealth (*Gorg.* 452c), a θησαυροποιὸς ἀνὴρ (*Rep.* 554a). Though τὸ πλῆθος praises him (554b, cf. *Hor. Sat.* II. 3, 121), his science, to apply the language of *Gorg.* 511c, was not σεμνή τις but σμικρά. Aristotle evidently excluded his Life from the list of pre-eminent Lives; and modern ways of thinking should not make us feel surprise if we find Aristotle even calling him 'little.'

¹ Ramsauer's conjecture βανάυσος was published in 1878 before Aspasius was published by Heylbut in 1889.

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In regard to the improbability of Aristotle's using this particular word, we seem to get some support for *βαιός* here from the Epicurean expression quoted § 1, 'Επαμεινώνδαν ἐσχηκέναι τι . . . ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μικρόν. It is certainly not a word of Attic prose: thus in Epicurus, *Max.* xvi. *βαιά* of Democritus is replaced by *βραχέα* (see Usener, *Epic.* p. 396). But it was not an unknown word at Athens. The Indices show that it was used by Sophocles fairly often in iambics; and fr. 255 (Dind.) suggests that it may have been current in a proverb: ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία | ἐκ κάρτα βαιῶν γνωτὸς ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνὴρ. Aristophanes has it at least *Ach.* 2 in iambics besides *Clouds* 1013 in anapaests. Elsewhere we may observe that Herondas, who has *μικρός* (6, 59), may have *βαιός* (8, 12); and in Athen. 118c it is used of fish. The real difficulty is to find examples of its use metaphorically, and I know only of the passage *Ajax* 160 given in § 1. But we can compare the similar use of *βραχύς*, e.g. *Heracl.* 613 τὸν μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν βραχὺν ᾤκισε. We may compare also the personal use of *minutus* in *Casina* II. 5, 23-9; *Phaedr.* IV. 6, 12-13; *Petr.* 44; and especially in Cicero. Thus the non-Socratics, who are *plebeiī philosophi* in *Tusc.* I. 23, 55 (see Dougan *ad loc.*; also Reid, *Acad.* p. 265), are *minuti philosophi* in *Diu.* I. 30, 62. And the word is softened by the use of *τις* (cf. *μυαιφόνος τις* 1177b 10); and see Burnet, p. 45, on *τητώμενοι*.

There seems, then, no sufficient objection against the word *βαιός*, which, indeed, may be concealed in another passage in *E.N.* In X. 6, 8, 1177a 9, the text as it stands with *εἰ μὴ καὶ βίον*—'only those allow a slave to be happy who also allow he may have *βίος*'—gives no good sense. We can compare *Stob.* II. 126W (according to Peripatetics), those who think bodily and external goods are constituent elements in Eudaimonia ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἡ μὲν εὐδαιμονία βίος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ βίος ἐκ πράξεως συμπεπλήρωται: cf. 1139a 20, and *Cic. de Fin.* V. § 57 *gerendis negotiis orbatus . . . paratissimis uesci uoluptatibus*. But this pregnant use of *βίος* with no explanation added is very harsh (*βίος* 'rational life' as opposed to mere *ζωή* seems Stoic, *Stob.* II. 85, 17, and *Index*, p. 310W), besides being especially unlikely in *E.N.*, with its *ἀπολ. βίος* in I. and a little before in X. *καθεύδοντι διὰ βίου* and *φυτῶν ζῶντι βίον* 1176a 34-5. So perhaps we should read *κατὰ βαιόν* (cf. *κατὰ βραχύ*, κ. *σ μικρόν Soph.* 240e, 241c), 'no one allows a slave happiness except in a small degree.' In spite of *Pol.* 1280a 32 Aristotle would presumably allow the slave to be capable of a low degree of Happiness, since he is not altogether devoid of reasoning power and is capable of an inferior kind of virtue (*Pol.* 1260b 5, 60a 35; also cf. *E.N.* 1161b 5). X. 6, 8 may seem too far from I. 5, 8 for the conjecture *κατὰ βαιόν* to receive any support from *βαιός* in I. 5, 8, even if we accept this reading from Aspasius. But X. cc. 6-8, the second portion of Aristotle's treatment of Eudaimonia, was in his head as he wrote I. c. 5 if we may trust K^b ἐν τοῖς ἐχομένοις (c. 5, 7), 'we shall consider the theoretic Life in the next part,' sc. of the discussion of Eudaimonia, i.e. X. cc. 6-8.¹

¹ Otherwise, read *βίον* <τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν>, 'only he can live virtuously': cf. *Sen. de Ben.* III. c. 18; those allow a slave can be happy who also allow Aristotle is referring perhaps to the Cynics.

However that may be, we should observe that Aspasius gains nothing by reading *βαιός*, for his view of the chapter is, as was stated in § 4, that Aristotle throughout is talking of the three *προέχοντες*, i.e. as he thought 'perfect,' Lives. On the other hand, *βίαιος* is suitable in the interpretation implied by *E.E.*, viz. that the *χρηματιστής* is a species of politician. This erroneous interpretation is the only one on which *βίαιος* is really intelligible; on any other it is at best gratifying to the moral sense.

VII.

We may note how *E.N. I. c. 5* exemplifies some of the difficulties that confront us in the *Ethics*, even when Aristotle is writing with careful attention to style, as he is in this part at least of the treatise. In the first place, the long period at the beginning of the chapter is obscure because it is deprived *τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ῥητορείαις γιγνομένων* (*Isocr. Phil.* § 26); it wants the living voice of the author, *τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεὶ δεῖται βοήθου* (*Phaedr.* 275e; cf. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas*, pp. 204 sqq.). We have in *E.N. I. cc. 1-12*, not a professional tract like the chapters on pleasure we find in VII., and yet not a literary composition of the same class as the polished *Letter on Ethics* addressed by Epicurus to Menoeceus, on which see Usener, *Epic.* xlii. Epicurus wrote that to be read by strangers; this Aristotle composed for oral delivery by himself. As he delivered each clause with duly varying modulation, he was, we may well believe, quite easily understood. A second cause of obscurity is indicated by the references in this chapter to discussions¹ lost to us. Had we them, we should probably understand at once the argument of the chapter and the 'pre-eminence' of the three Lives; there would, in fact, be little or nothing in the subject-matter that was new to us. But now as we read the *Ethics* we are like persons listening to an old tale that is new to them, and of which they catch fragments only. To put it more technically, we lack the 'apperception-mass' that Aristotle rightly presupposed in his hearers. And even on a subject of such general interest as Eudaimonia he appears to be lecturing primarily for his own pupils; such at least is the suggestion that seems to be conveyed by the emphatic pronouns in c. 4, 5, *μὴ λανθανέτω δ' ἡμᾶς*—who know the new Logic; *ἵσως οὖν ἡμῖν γε*—whatever may be possible for the others. So Aristotle is always in a sense esoteric for us; and perhaps Newman was thinking of him when he wrote (*Grammar of Assent*, c. 8, § 2, p. 309) that 'an intellectual school will always have something of an esoteric character; for it is an assemblage of minds that think; their bond is unity of thought, and their words become a sort of *tessera*, not expressing thought, but symbolizing it.'

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¹ If we interpret (96a 10) *πρὸς ἀντρά* 'against them' (see Burnet), surely we should take *καὶ* from Kb instead of *καίτοι*.

RE.
Palam
molossu
admits i
scholar
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history
For Ser
conside
Lindsay
treatme
inaugur
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It is
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was av
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In
the au
poem

¹ E.
122-134
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with N
Laberiu
sponde

NUANCES IN PLAUTINE METRE.

READERS of Phaedrus will have noticed that the rhythm of III. *Ep.* 34, *Palam muttire plebeio piaculum est* is unique. Nowhere else does he admit a molossus-word before the final metron of the iambic senarius, and he only admits it here because he is quoting a line from the *Telephus* of Ennius. Since a scholar whose opinion deserves respect¹ proposes to introduce this rhythm into a reconstruction of a fragment of Laberius it seems worth while to examine its history in order to see how and why it was used, before it was finally banned. For Seneca, like Phaedrus, bans it entirely. The question has already been considered by Klotz, *Grundzüge Altrömischer Metrik*, pp. 324 sqq.; W. M. Lindsay,² *Captivi* (large edition), p. 66; Havet, *Métrique*³, 276 (though the treatment there is too short to be satisfactory); and by T. Hingst in his inaugural dissertation *De Spondeis et Anapaestis in antepaenultimo pede uersuum generis duplicis Latinorum*, Leipzig, 1904.

I shall confine myself strictly to the use of this rhythm in the senarius, since I think that Klotz and Hingst only confuse the issues by including the long dialogue metres. These depend upon music, and even the most meagre accompaniment of music blurs the spoken accent and renders many rhythms tolerable which are not tolerated in normal speech. We have only to remember what happens to the English language in English Comic opera. It is clear that some rhythms which were welcomed by the long metres were rejected by the senarius, e.g. *iamdudum mulier tibi* can end a trochaic septenarius in *Menaechmi* 419, but it could not form the end of a senarius, where an anapaest-word cannot follow the molossus in the third metron. It is significant also, and I do not think it has hitherto been observed, that there is no certain instance of this rhythm in the long iambs and trochaics of Lucilius and Varro Reatinus. This would seem to show that it was avoided in lines that were meant to be read and not recited on the stage. I shall confine myself to pure molossus-words without elisions before or after.

In Tragedy this rhythm is used in senarii by Livius Andronicus, Ennius, the author of the *Carmen Nelei* (unless we agree with Miss Steuart that this poem was really written in saturnians): in Comedy and allied forms of

¹ E. Hauler in *Wiener Studien*, 1917, vol. 39, 122-134. He proposes the line *Potius quam dicta confingit «mimis suis»*. Another of his lines begins with *Nusquam pugnant*. But is it likely that Laberius would open a senarius with two spondee words? Plautus allows it only once,

and then it is in an iambic octonarius in a canticum (*Trin.* 285).

² Professor Lindsay was kind enough to look through the present article, and I have incorporated in it some of his criticisms and suggestions.

literature, by Naevius, Aquilius, Novius, Plautus, Terence (but very rarely), Lucilius, Afranius, Varro Reatinus, Laberius, and Publilius Syrus.

Our inquiry must necessarily centre round Plautus, since he offers by far the widest field. In him we find over twenty unquestioned instances of this rhythm. Not a large number when compared with the thousands of senarii which survive in his plays, but still too many to be the result of careless composition or of textual corruption. The older generation of editors set out to emend these instances on the ground that they violated the so-called Dipody Law which requires that the second or inner thesis of an iambic dipody must not be formed by a long syllable bearing the spoken accent. Thus in *Amph.* 42 *Vidi Neptunum, Virtutem, Victoriam* was tinkered into *Virtutem <et>* and *Aul.* 95 *Cultrum, securim, pistillum mortarium* into *pistillum <aut>*. But modern editors are more cautious. Klotz was of the opinion that the rhythm was a metrical expedient, devised in order to permit the introduction of long words into the line. But the words in question are not particularly long, nor particularly intractable in the hands of a metrist so consummate as Plautus. What has emerged from a careful examination of the instances is that in verses with this type of rhythm a coincidence of ictus and accent appears to be sought in the other parts of the verse. In the last metron this coincidence is generally secured by a four- or five-syllable word of the form $\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}$, $\text{--}\cup\text{--}$, or $\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}$, or by separate words which are metrically equivalent to these forms and show a similar coincidence of ictus and accent, e.g. *cum filio : cara omnia : me maxime : de tē datur*, etc.¹ Hence the molossus cannot be followed by a spondee- or anapaest-word, e.g. *praerodat digitos suos, Mercator Macchi Titi*, since these would cause a conflict between ictus and accent in the fifth foot. I do not know whether it has hitherto been remarked that a like coincidence seems to be required, or at any rate to be preferred, in the feet preceding the molossus. The only instances which do not conform are *Pers.* 160 *dare debet : praebenda aediles locauerunt* and *Rud.* 14 *petunt quique in iure abiurant pecuniam*.²

It is surely not too hazardous to infer that if the roughness of the molossus is atoned for by extra smoothness in other parts of the line the roughness was intentional and had a significance of its own. 'The sound's a comment to the sense.' I believe that Phaedrus gives the key to this significance. His one instance comes from Tragedy, and I suggest that the rhythm is tragic in its origin, and that Plautus, who, though not a creative artist in design, is certainly a great artist in metre, as in language, and is constantly, like all good artists, making experiments, has taken over this device from Tragedy partly in order to

¹ Hingst does not notice that $\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}$, e.g. in *otio* does not seem to be accepted as a proper equivalent in the best writers. It is not admitted by Phaedrus. The only instance which he quotes (p. 31) is from the so-called Caecilius Balbus.

² Lindsay would find here a contrast between the prepositions *in* and *ab*, and compares Lord

Neave's line on the Permissive Bill, 'To permit me to prevent you From having your glass of beer.' This seems to me now the right explanation, and in the parallel passage *Pers.* 478 I should be inclined to accept the reading '*ne quis mi* (for *mihī*) *in iure abiurassit*,' so as to secure a similar contrast in this trochaic tetrameter.

parody tra
and accen
sententiou
main obje
as though
have been
must offer
try to ana

(1) I

Am

This
tragedy.

M

The cook

Ca

This is a
and a co
into mor
would th
genuine
line.

F

This line

(2)

A

A

A

A

T

This las
the slav
squande

¹ The e
been a pe
This is s
admission

parody tragedy and partly for other purposes. In Tragedy this conflict of ictus and accent at the end of the second metron¹ gave point to the swelling or sententious phrase, and enabled the actor to strike an attitude. In Plautus the main object of the rhythm is to secure emphasis. The effect to the reader is as though the word were printed in italics, or in the spaced type to which we have been accustomed in the plays of Mr. B. Shaw. On the stage the effect must often have been enforced by 'business' on the part of the actor. I shall try to analyze the instances on these lines.

(1) I should class the following as paratragic :

Amph. 490 et clandestina ut celetur consuetio.

This concludes a passage in Mercury's speech which is clearly a parody of tragedy.

Men. 330 dum ego haec appono ad Volcani uiolentiam.

The cook Cylindrus uses a tragic phrase for fire with comic effect.

Cas. 447 stimulorum loculi. protollo mortem mihi;
certum est hunc Accheruntem praemittam prius.

This is a difficult line, since *protollo mortem* gives a spondee-word in the fifth and a consequent conflict of ictus and accent. It has been altered, of course, into *mortem protollo mihi*, and defended on the ground that the enclitic *mihi* would throw its accent on to the last syllable of *mortem*. If the phrase is genuine it has a tragic ring, as also has the reference to Acheron in the next line.

Frag. 30 Vbi primum accensus clamarat meridiem.

This line from the Boeotia seems to echo the tone of tragedy.

(2) In catalogues, comic or otherwise, this rhythm emphasizes the climax :

Amph. 42 uidi Neptunum, Virtutem, Victoriam
Aul. 95 cultrum, securim, pistillum, mortarium
Aul. 375 agninam caram, caram bubulam
uitulinam, cetum, porcinam: cara omnia
Aul. 86 mirum quin tua me caussa faciat Iuppiter
Philippum regem aut Dareum, triuenefica²
Trin. 410 quam si tu obicias formicis papauerem

This last instance comes as the climax to a rather breathless passage in which the slave Stasimus enumerates the various ways in which Lesbonicus has squandered his money.

¹ The end of the second metron seems to have been a peculiarly sensitive part of the senarius. This is shown among other indications by the admission of a syllaba anceps at this point, e.g.

Truc. 425. It is clear that some sort of pause could be made here if it were deemed necessary.

² Hingst has not noticed this instance.

Tranio is angry with the Danista who has wrecked his plans. I see no probability in the suggestion that *perturbat* here is the contracted perfect.

- Stich.* 194 haec uerba subigunt med ut mores barbaros
 discam atque ut faciam praeconis compendium
 itaque *auktionem* praedicem ipse ut uenditem.
Rud. 89 et uos a uostris abduxi negotiis
 neque id processit qua uos duxi gratia
Rud. 461 ut hanc traxi lubens! . . .
 ut sine labore hanc extraxi! praefiscine!
Truc. 64 nam nunc lenonum et scortorum plus est fere.

In each of the last three instances there is a reference to the immediate context. In the first the phrase *praeconis compendium faciam* is emphatic because it introduces Gelasimus' elaborate jest about putting himself up for sale. It gives the key to the remainder of his speech after the entry of Crocotium. In the second there must be some intentional connexion between *abduxi* and *dux*. Plesidippus probably shakes his head regretfully as he utters the words *abduxi negotiis*. In the third passage *extraxi* underlines, so to speak, the *traxi* in line 459, and is doubtless accompanied by some gesture to indicate the ease with which Sceparnio drew the water for the lady. In *Truc.* 64 *lenonum et scortorum* is repeated from 62a with angry contempt. There remain three instances which seem to me to be clearly accompanied by gesture or stage 'business' of some kind:

- Capt.* 192 ibo intro atque intus subducam ratiunculam
 quantillum argenti mi apud tarpezitam siet
Curc. 371 beatus uideor: subduxi ratiunculam,
 quantum aeris mihi sit quantumque alieni siet
Men. 102 tantas struices concinnat patinarias

The first two passages seem to me to require some gesture with the fingers indicative of counting: in the last I seem to see the actor's hands waved upwards in stages to illustrate the piling up of a large number of dishes. Sometimes there is clearly a wave of the hand or a bow to indicate the persons to whom reference is made. This is the explanation which I would offer for—

- Pseud.* 456 erum saluto primum, ut aequomst; postea
 si quid superfit uicinos impertio,

where the first line is addressed by Pseudolus to his master Simo, the second with a polite bow to Callipho. In *Pers.* 160 'dare debet: praebenda aediles locauerunt' the word *aediles* must surely be spoken emphatically, with a bow towards the seats where the aediles were sitting.

There is a residue of passages which are either corrupt or spurious. In *Amph.* 103 the MSS. read 'gravidam Alcumenam uxorem fecit suam.' Here not only is the spondee-word after the molossus illicit, but the hiatus after *Alcumenam* is indefensible. Most editors adopt the simple alteration *fecit*

uxorem suam. *Cas.* 59 'propterea una consentit cum filio' occurs in a prologue, the whole of which cannot be by Plautus. So, too, *Merc.* 6 'quos pol ego credo humanas querimonias' and *Merc.* 10 'eadem Latine Mercator Macci Titi,' *Poen.* 7 'qui edistis multo fecistis sapientius' and 38 'nutrices pueros infantes minutulos.' Some of these would satisfy what I am claiming to be the nuance in Plautus, but others appear to be merely archaistic revivals.

This rhythm is, of course, only one of Plautus' devices for securing dramatic emphasis. As I have already suggested, the end of the second metron of the senarius was a peculiarly sensitive portion of the line. Some of the metrical equivalents of the molossus-word secure the same effect in this position, e.g.:

Most. 595 'Non dat, non debet. non debet? ne gry quidem.' Here the stress laid on the indignantly repeated *Non debet* is unmistakeable. In *M. G.* 820 'sed quia consimilest, quom stertas, quasi sorbeas,' there is an emphasis on *stertas*. The slave is defending his humorous identification of snoring with drinking. In 819 we have *stertit* with the normal coincidence of ictus and accent, and the joke is strongly underlined by the conflict between them when *stertas* is used in line 820. The same is true of the equivalent - 0 0 -:

Bacch. 152 'magistrum quemquam discipulum minitarier.' Here there is a strong antithesis. In *Cist.* 407 'diobolares, schoeniculae, miraculae,' and *Stich.* 659 'saltationes, blanditias, prothymias' we have the same use in catalogues that we have noticed in the case of molossus-words.¹ As far as I can see, the equivalent 0 0 - - or 0 -, - - is less emphatic. But in *Capt.* 85-86 I detect a strong antithesis between *prolatis rebus* and *quando res redierunt*; and in *Men.* 263—

propterea huic urbi nomen Epidamno inditumst
quia nemo ferme huc sine damno deuortitur

the strength of this emphatic position at the end of the second metron is clearly shewn.² Perhaps here we should regard the spondee-word *damno*

¹ These choriamb-words obey the same rule as the molossus-word in this part of the verse. They cannot be followed by an anapaest- or spondee-word unless these have a heavy break before them, or an enclitic following them, e.g. *Bacch.* 246 *Mnesilochus? uiuit ualet.* *Pers.* 706 *multimodis scriptumst tuom.* Hence when the MSS. give *dimidium iussit dari* in *Aul.* 291 modern editors prefer to alter to *iussit dimidium* with Aulus Gellius, so as to secure the correct rhythm and also the alliteration. In *Rud.* 1264 the MSS., on the contrary, unite in giving *cenam continuo coqui* and not *continuo cenam*. The only passages which do not obey this rule are *Stich.* 439 and a group of instances (*Bacch.* 144; *Ibid.* 348; *Curc.* 271; *Most.* 58; *Rud.* 27; *Trin.* 583), where in each case the choriamb-word is a compound of *uenio*. Leo would restore forms in *-uenat, -uenant*. But even if we do not adopt this

course, none of these instances causes difficulty. In all of them accent and ictus in the last metron can be made to agree owing either to enclisis, elision, or close connexion. Why, then, in *Stich.* 439 (a passage which Hingst omits) do editors still tolerate the line *ad Sagarinum cenam coqui* when it is quite easy to read *Sagarinum*, which form indeed is definitely required in line 644?

² That the emphasis for which I am contending does not depend solely on heavy words, such as molossi and choriamb, but is also due to the position, is shewn by *Stich.* 361-2:

credo hercle adueniens nomen mutabit mihi
facietque extemplo Crucisalum me ex
Chrysalo,

where a similar emphasis for a pun is obtained by a fourth paeon-word.

as sufficie
spondee in

Or it woul
that the st
sine damno

So m
and no on
Hingst qu
pure molo
to occur.
vementer a
pecuniae th
syllable, b
parallel to
The other
molossus
speaker af
long iamb
have discu
before a p
shews an
only one i

It is
Terence i
attempted
literature,

The m
Late arch
cance. I
such as im
his *secreto*,
dramatic
way for se
Laberius
quid prope
Hauler's
suis as an
of the rhy

St. JOHN'
OXF

as sufficient in itself to convey the emphasis. It would then be like the spondee in the catalogue of abusive epithets in *Pers.* 408.

impure, inhoneste, iniure, inle x, labes popli

Or it would quite satisfy my theory of the nuance to accept Lindsay's view, that the stress is here again on the prepositions: *Epidamno* contrasted with *sine damno* and in *Pers.* 408 the stress laid throughout on the preposition *in-*.

So much for Plautus' use of this rhythm. In Terence it is all but dead, and no one hitherto seems to have called attention to this extraordinary fact. Hingst quotes the instances, such as they are, but makes no comment. The pure molossus-word before the last metron in the senarius can hardly be said to occur. In *Phorm.* 619 *temptarem sententiam* is uncertain. In *Hec.* 488 *vehementer desidero* may well be read as *vehementer d.* In *Hec.* 506 *accessit pecuniae* the MSS. are at variance. Where the molossus precedes not a polysyllable, but words in close combination, there is only one instance at all parallel to those which we find in Plautus, viz. *Hautt.* 290 *prolixus circum caput*. The other instances are not pertinent, since in *Eum.* 915 and *Phorm.* 957 the molossus is followed by an enclitic, and in *And.* 767 there is a change of speaker after *animaduortendum*. In long trochaics it does not occur at all. In long iambics it is also avoided. Nor are the metrical equivalents which we have discussed above any commoner. The choriamb-word occurs only once before a polysyllable in *Hautt.* 481 *nequitiam patefeceris*. The other instance shews an enclitic, *Phorm.* 590 *pollicitus sum effecero*. In long trochaics there is only one instance, *Hautt.* 320 *multimodis iniurius*. In long iambics none.

It is clear, then, that where this rhythm and its allied forms occur in Terence it is accidental, and can have none of the nuances which we have attempted to discover in Plautus. Terence's plays, in other words, are coterie literature, fine and polished, but meant to be read rather than acted.

The rhythm seems to have had a fitful life till it disappears in Phaedrus. Late archaistic writers, of course, revived it without understanding its significance. Hence the so-called Caecilius Balbus produces impossible endings such as *indigno laesi dolor*, and the Pseudo-Seneca De Moribus is no better with his *secreto, laudes palam*. It had a limited career for the moment in the later dramatic writers of the republic. Publilius Syrus uses it in the true tragic way for sententious and gnomic lines, and if we may judge from the fragments Laberius did the same, e.g. *Fr.* 77 *sic ego fulgentis splendorem pecuniae*, or *Fr.* 148 *quid properas? ecquid praecurris Calidoniam*. But these are very different to Hauler's *confringit mimis suis*, where, even if we defend the spondee by claiming *suis* as an enclitic, we miss the sententious tone which is the real justification of the rhythm.

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SOPHOCLES, *AJAX* 601-3.

AN enumeration of the emendations and interpretations of these verses would fill the space necessary for a whole article. Consequently, I shall proceed at once to a consideration of what I conceive to be the correct restoration of the passage.

The last word of verse 601, ἀνάρριθμος, is evidently genuine, and is accepted by all scholars. The preceding word, μήλων, has been changed to μηνῶν. Jebb regards this as a certain correction, for 'in no other way can ἀνάρριθμος be justified.' That is true, if the adjective is to be taken with ἐγώ (as it is by all scholars); but, in my opinion, it agrees with χρόνος. Cf. ἀνάρριθμος χρόνος (Schol.), O.C. 617 ὁ κύριος χρόνος, A*i.* 712 ὁ μέγας χρόνος. As we shall see, it is added as a reinforcement to παλαιός to convey the notion that the months seemed numberless because they were so cheerless. Cf. O.T. 561 μακροὶ παλαιοὶ τ' ἂν μετρηθεῖεν χρόνοι.

Not only μήλων, but also ποια and λειμωνι stand in our MSS. as Sophocles wrote them. This leaves only the first two words to be considered, ἰδαίαι and μίμων, the very words scholars have not attempted to emend (ἰδαίαι only in form, not in meaning). Yet it is in this part of the verse, as it seems to me, that the corruption of this vexed passage must be sought. The trouble started with the second letter Δ, which was misread Δ.

The scribe evidently thought that ἰδαίαι and λειμωνία modified ποίαι. He naturally changed λειμωνιο to the dative to agree with the substantive; and he was strengthened in his conviction that ποια meant 'grass' by the fact that λειμωνιο preceded, as also by the further fact that the first two syllables of the adjective (ΙΔΑΙ) seemed to indicate that the poet had in mind the Trojan meadows. Consequently, he proceeded to bring ἰδαισι into harmony with ποίαι by writing ἰδαίαι. But the substantive following this word was now otiose (the accents on the two adjectives point to a confusion of cases in the scribe's mind: nominatives or accusatives, until they were attracted to the dative by the magnet ποίαι), and he changed μηνων to μίμων; for, so long as this verse, as well as ἀνάρριθμος, was thought to refer to ἐγώ, no other word seemed to be so appropriate. The iota before μηνῶν probably influenced the scribe in his choice of μίμων to add to the long list of participles in the sentence.

I should read, then: ἰλαιοι μηνῶν λειμώνι' ὅποια μῆλ' ὦν ἀνάρριθμος, 'in its troops of months countless as the flocks of the field.' The whole verse is merely an amplification, in highly poetical language, of παλαιὸς χρόνος. The image is that of immense flocks of sheep entering or leaving a pasture: they seem to be innumerable as they pass by in their serried ranks.

So far as ἰλη is concerned, it means *grex*, ἀγέλη (κατ' ἰλην καὶ ἀγέλην, Plutarch), *flock* (of animals of any kind): λεόντων ἰλα (Eur. *Alc.* 581), though ποιμνή is more usual when applied to sheep (here, however, it is ἰλαιοι μηνῶν not μήλων); and it has a technical military signification of *troop* (of soldiers). The noun μῆλα, too, has a wider range: Σοφοκλῆς δὲ, φησί (Aristoph. *Gramm.*), δόξειεν ἂν πον καὶ τὰ θηρία πάντα μῆλα καλεῖν (Eust. II. 877. 58), μῆλα ἅπαντα τὰ τετράποδα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι (Phryn. Bekk. 17. 8). So Suidas and Hesychius. Cf. Soph. *Ai.* 1061 πρὸς μῆλα καὶ ποίμνας.

The fact that λειμωνιο preceded ποίαι made it almost impossible for the scribe to dissociate the two words. Cf. Dionys. *P.* 756 λειμωνὶς ποίη, A.R. 137 βοτάνη, Suid.

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λειμωνία· ἡ ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι χλόη, λειμωνήρης βοτάνη, Aesch. *Fr.* 374 ἄνθεα λειμώνια, *Ag.* 560 λειμώνια δρόσοι, *Hdt.* 4. 47 γῇ ἐοῦσα πεδιάς . . . ποιώδης, Arrian 6. 29. 4 πόαν βαθείαν . . . ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι.

Sophocles, more than any other poet, personifies the months of the year: ἀκάματοι μῆνες (*Ant.* 607), *O.T.* 1083 οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς μῆνες με μικρὸν καὶ μέγαν διώρισαν, *Phil.* 723. Cf. Plato, *Leg.* 886a, Eur. *Fr.* 594 ἀκάμας χρόνος. The Salaminian sailors bewail their fate later in similar language (1185): τίς ἄρα νέατος ἐς πότε λήξει πολυπλάγκτων ἐτέων ἀριθμός; which the schol. Pal. explains by ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν πολυστροφῶν ἐτῶν.

The word after λειμῶνι' is ὅποια (not ποίη) and is equivalent to οἶα, ὥσπερ. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 398 ὅποια κισσὸς δρυὸς ὅπως τῆσδ' ἐξομαι, Soph. *O.T.* 915 οὐδ' ὅποι' ἀνὴρ ἔννοος, Lycophr. 74, 182, 1429.

J. E. HARRY.

PARIS.

ADDENDVM ON APVLEIVS GLOSSES IN THE 'ABOLITA' GLOSSARY.

IN my article in the last number of the *Class. Quart.*, dealing with Apuleius glosses in the 'Abolita' Glossary, there should have been, on p. 41, a note explaining the gloss 'Aerugo: sanguisuga' (p. 86, 10):

What has happened to give the item this form? Perhaps the original entries were as follows:

'Aerugo: <?>' (*Met.* 1. 21).

'<Hirudo>: sanguisuga' (? *Met.* 6, 26).

'Aerugo' must have been altered to 'Herugo,' and through confusion the two glosses became merged in one.

It might be noted that in *C.G.L.* V. 65, 22, we find—'de gts' (i.e. 'de glossis'—*Abstrusa? Abolita? Not Placidus*):

'Erugo: uitium erodens ferrum, ab erodendo dictum.'

ROBERT WEIR.

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NOTES ON GREEK GEOGRAPHY.

I REGRET to find that in my lately published book on the *Homeric Catalogue*, p. 108, I have made Herodotus say that the Pelasgians at one time inhabited Phthiotis. Herodotus says that the Hellenes did. I apologize to my readers for this inadvertence.

I should also like to say that I no longer think that, as I asserted *C.R.* 1906, 199 sq., the author of the *Shield of Heracles* intended Trachis by the words Μηρμιδόων πῶλις. The Hesiodian writer probably intended Pharsalos.

T. W. ALLEN.

FORDVS AND FORDICIDIA.

FORDVS is usually¹ regarded as containing the root of *fero* bher- 'carry'; i.e. *fordus* stands for **foridus* 'pregnant,' like Gr. *φορός* -όν in medical writers. Its by-form *hordus* therefore is held to be a dialect form, and was according to that view rightly assigned by Conway,² along with some other and quite certain examples of pure Latin *f* = dial. *h*- for I.-Eu. *bh*- (or *dh*-), to one of the dialects of the Latinian group; Conway's choice fell upon Faliscan, but that is a different question from the one under discussion.

There are two serious objections to this, the current explanation of *fordus* :

(i.) The syncope of *-i-* in *fordus* from **foridus* is altogether irregular. Brugmann³ holds that this syncope may take place after a liquid, nasal, or *-u-* in words of three syllables. But after *-l-*, e.g. *squalidus*, there are thirteen⁴ unsyncopated examples, not counting compounds like *e-nalidus*, etc. (which, if they were not later formations and ever underwent syncope, were subsequently 'reformed'), against only two with syncope. These two, like the adverb *ualde* beside *ualide* and *ualidus*, have different explanations. For example, *caldus*⁵ arose after the analogy of *caldōrem*, *caldārium*, which are regular. Similarly after *-r-* there are eleven adjectives in *-idus* without syncope, and none with, unless we count *fordus*; after *-m-* eleven against none; after *-u-* twenty-two against one.

It may, however, be justly argued that the syncope took place in the compound **foridicidia*, or that it was a vulgar pronunciation like *lardum*.

(ii.) But the next difficulty is more serious. There is, I think, no explanation of the ablaut form *-o-*. From *ferre* we should have **feridus* (**ferdus*), exactly like *lepidus* (*lepor*), *splendidus* (*splendor*, *splendēre*). Forms with *-o-* (e.g. *horridus*, *torpidus*, *olidus*, and many others) are not ablaut forms at all (*horror horrēre*, *torpor torpēre*, *odor olēre*, and the rest); *modus*, *modestus* : *medēri* is not a parallel.

It seems more reasonable to look for the root and original meaning of *fordus* in Greek *χόριον* (τό) which is used, especially in medical works, in the sense of 'the membrane surrounding the foetus in the womb, the afterbirth.' With this compare Theocritus X. 11 :

χαλεπὸν χορίω κύνα γεύσαι

—as we say 'Don't let a dog taste blood.' It has been pointed out to me by Professor Sir Wm. Ridgeway that in the lambing season shepherds are always careful to burn or bury deeply the afterbirths, because the dogs, if they got at them, would afterwards turn upon the lambs.

Liddell and Scott connect *χόριον* with Latin *corium*, *scortum*, but as these⁶ come from a root (*s*)*qer-* or (*s*)*qy-*, represented in Greek by *κείρω*, that etymology is impossible. In Horace, *Sat.* II. 5. 83,

canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto,

¹ See Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wb.*, 2nd ed., s.v.; Brugmann, *K.V.G.* p. 252.

² *Italic Dialects* i. pp. 384-6.

³ l.c.

⁴ This and the following statistics I have compiled with the help of Gradenwitz's *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum* (1904).

⁵ See Exon in *Hermathena*, Vol. XIV. (1907), pp. 133, 126, and indeed the whole article, pp. 117 sqq.

⁶ See Walde, s.v. Latin cognates of *χόριον*, *χορδή*, are *hira*, *hilla*, *harnspex*.

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¹ Verg. *E*
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² Quoted b

³ See Con

⁴ Cf. War

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⁵ Varro, *R*
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⁶ See Con

⁷ Cf. *febru*
monial, and

there is a mistranslation of *χόριον* by *corium*, due to the similarity of sound, which may be paralleled by the well-known instances in Vergil and Cicero.¹

With *χόριον* of course goes *χορδή*, which, although its specialised meanings do not coincide with those of *χόριον* (there would be no need for them if they did), yet also is used in the proverb: *ἐγείσατο χορδῆς ὁ κύων*.²

It should be observed too that our chief authority for the meaning of *fordus* 'pregnant' is in the Roman grammarians;³ and that this meaning may be only a figment—invented after the real meaning of *fordicidia* was lost.

In *fordicidia* the stress of meaning is laid not so much on the beast to be slaughtered as on the embryo to be offered in order to promote the fertility of the fields and the prosperity of the crops:⁴ it was the unborn calf within that was to be burnt and its ashes carefully preserved for the ceremony of the Parilia a few days later. Moreover there was an old form *fordicalia*,⁵ and this variant shows that the actual slaughter of pregnant cows was not much in the forefront: 'festival of pregnant cows' is not so likely as 'festival where (say) "haggis" is offered.'

If this derivation is correct, then the forms with *h-*, *hordus* and *hordicidia*, are pure Latin, while *fordus*, etc., are Sabine.⁶ This is indicated by other evidence as well. The meaning of the word, even when slightly perverted, is very narrow—a constant sign of borrowing.⁷ That *forda* which ought, according to the usual explanation, to mean simply and quite generally any pregnant animal, is described as meaning specifically a pregnant cow, is a mark of its limited sacrificial and not general veterinary use, and in turn, in this case doubtless as in others, of borrowing also. For the festival is marked in the *stāte* calendar or *fasti* in large letters, showing that it is one of the state festivals in the 'Calendar of Numa,'⁸ which was in its main outlines Sabine, as has been recently pointed out on other grounds.⁹ Finally, *hostiae succidanae* are classified by Servius¹⁰ as either *fordae* or *taureae*,¹¹ and of these the one class at any rate, the *taureae*, were believed, according to a tradition also preserved in Servius,¹² to be of Sabine origin.

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¹ Verg. *Ecl.* VIII. 58 mistranslates Theocr. I. 134; *Ecl.* X. 39, I think, mistranslates Theocr. X. 28; *Aen.* IX. 175 (probably), Homer *Il.* II. 781 sqq., Cicero *Tusc.* II. 8. 20 mistranslates Soph. *Trach.* 1055.

² Quoted by L. and Sc., s.v. *χορδή*.

³ See Conway, *Ital. Dial.* l.c.

⁴ Cf. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience*, pp. 100, 120; *Roman Festivals*, p. 71; Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*, 2nd ed., p. 192.

⁵ Varro, *R.R.* II. 5, 6 (so all MSS.); Lydus, *de mensibus* IV. p. 97.

⁶ See Conway, *op. cit.* p. 359.

⁷ Cf. *februare*, a word used exclusively in ceremonial, and said to have been borrowed from

the Sabines. See Ernout, *Éléments Dialectaux*, p. 162; cf. *ibid.* p. 70, and contrast the wider meanings of *purgare* or even *lustrare*.

⁸ See Mommsen on the *fasti* in *CIL.* I., 2nd ed., pars i., pp. 361 sqq.

⁹ See Ridgeway in *Proc. Camb. Philolog. Soc.* for 1916 (printed 1917), pp. 16 sqq. At the time Professor Ridgeway wrote the etymology of *fordus* suggested in this note had not been proposed. It is, however, in accordance with the view which he takes of the 'Calendar of Numa.'

¹⁰ *Aen.* II. 140 (Dan.).

¹¹ Cf. Varro, *R.R.* II. 5, 6.

¹² L.c. Cf. Festus, p. 478, Lindsay.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XLI. 4. 1920.

Maurice Bloomfield, *On Overhearing as a Motif of Hindu Fiction*. A continuation of 'the encyclopaedic treatment of Hindu fiction planned some years ago.' Discusses the use of the motif as a *deus ex machina*, and shows, with a wealth of illustrative quotation, the different types of speakers and conversations and the various results which follow the overhearing. Francis A. Wood, *Names of Stinging, Gnawing, and Rending Animals*. Part II. A further list of a hundred such names (of insects, rabbits, hares, the various rodents, and carnivorous animals) with connected words. H. V. Canter, *The Paraclausithyron as a Literary Theme*. Argues that this type of serenade was indigenous to Greek soil, examples of it being found in Aristophanes, Asclepiades, Meleager, Callimachus, and other poets of the *Anthology*. Traces the subsequent history of the form in Latin literature, which it entered through Hellenistic influence. An elaborate footnote suggests a new derivation and meaning for the word *παράκλεισις* ('to a door-locking mistress' from the stem in *κλείω*). Norman W. De Witt, *The Arrow of Akestes*. The main thesis is that *Aeneid* V. is not a mechanical imitation of Homer, and the games in honour of Anchises are not funeral games, but the heroic prototype of the festival of Fors Fortuna. The aim is to throw back into antiquity the claim of the Caesars to divinity, and the popular association of the goddess Fortune with the Julian family. B. L. Gildersleeve, reminiscences and anecdotes mostly concerned with the use of figurative language, and containing a 'transfusion' of the Heraclitus epigram of Callimachus.

Bodleian Quarterly Record. III. 28. 1921.

E. Lobel, *From Sappho, Book I*. Lobel points out that Berlin Museum, P. 5006, a scrap of parchment in a seventh-century hand, and P. Oxyrhynchus 423 (= P. Graz I. 1926), a strip of papyrus in a third-century hand, have five lines of Sappho in common. Since this combination has escaped notice for so long, one may hope that there are others awaiting discovery.

Classical Philology. XV. 4. 1920.

F. E. Robbins, *Posidonius and the Sources of Pythagorean Arithmology*. R. opposes the view that Posidonius is the source from which the Greeks drew their information about Pythagorean number-theories. He stresses the importance of Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* iv. 2 sqq., as opposed to the later passage, vii. 91 sqq., a disjointed compilation, of which, even if the whole comes from Posidonius, the Pythagorean part must have been taken from an already existent work, which was known to Sextus also from another source, that used in iv. 2 sqq. D. Magie, *Augustus' War in Spain* (26-25 B.C.). M. examines the accounts given in Florus and Orosius. For *Bergidae* (Florus) and *Atticae* (Orosius) he suggests *Vellicae*, which he locates on epigraphical evidence in the southern foothills of the Cantabrian Mountains. He traces the movements of each of the three divisions of the Roman army in 26 B.C. In the campaign of 25 B.C. the Astures were betrayed to P. Carisius,

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whose name appears on coins of Augustus. K. Preston, *Martial and Formal Literary Criticism*. On the informal literary criticism contained in the poems. M. condemns the archaists and pedants of his time; he shows little direct knowledge of Greek letters; of Roman poets he rates highest Catullus and Domitius Marsus. In epigram he stresses Roman tradition and examples, defending their license of content, directness of language, and brevity. He was original in his insistence on point and his choice of live subjects. 'On the whole Martial represents an entirely wholesome reaction against a stagnant literary age.' R. G. Kent, *Studies in the Iguvine Tables*. New suggestions, chiefly based on the view that the writings -a and -u (both = -ā) are not used indiscriminately in the Tables, on the formulation of rules governing the loss of final *r* and *t*, and on the recognition of word contamination. R. P. Robinson, *Ethologia or Aetiologia in Suetonius De Grammaticis* c. 4, and *Quintilian* I. 9. In view of the readings of the best manuscripts and after examining the definitions of either term, R. proposes to restore the reading of the archetype, *aethiologia*, with the deletion of the letter *h*, in both passages. E. C. Knowlton, *The Allegorical Figure Genius*. Deals with the conception of the character Genius in medieval poetry, particularly in Alanus de Insulis' *De Planctu Naturae*, Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

Mnemosyne. XLVIII. 1. 1920.

J. J. Hartmann, *De Ioanne Pascolo Poeta Latino*, gives a full and enthusiastic appreciation of the work of Pascoli, whom D'Annunzio has called the last of the sons of Vergil. H. regards him as an original poet of high rank, using Latin with masterly skill, not with the object of imitating the ancients, but because he finds it a more suitable medium than Italian for treating certain subjects and producing certain effects. A combination of tender pathos with subtle irony appears to be characteristic of P. M. Valetton, *De Praetoribus Atheniensium qui victoriam reportaverunt apud Arginusas insulas*, investigates with minute detail all that bears upon the trial of the 'Ten Generals.' The main points of his inquiry are: (1) The names of the generals who conquered at Arginusae, (2) the generals succeeding Alcibiades and his colleagues were appointed at the ordinary elections in the month of March, (3) and in the year 406 (4) the part played by Theramenes at the trial of the generals on the capital charge, (5) hardly as the generals were treated, the strict letter of the law was not violated. V. gives reasons against the traditional views that Theramenes treacherously worked up feeling against the accused, that the psephisma of Cannonus was of general validity, and therefore was violated in this case, and that Socrates was ἐρωτάτης τοῦ δῆμου. P. H. Damsté has notes, chiefly critical, on A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* VI.-X. J. S. Phillimore on Statius, *Silu.* III. ii. 20. Here MSS. read 'sint quibus explorent primos grauis [arte Molorchos M, arte molorcus A].' Scaliger and J. Rutgers disinterred from the ruins the word 'artemo.' P. argues for the reading: 'Sunt quibus explorent primos grauis artemo tortus.' He shows that 'artemo' may = 'manubrium,' tiller. 'Tortus' is the accusative plural of an abstract noun, 'tortus,' a twisting. Hence the sense is: 'Let some (of the Nereids) by turning the tiller this way and that begin to try whether the helm will obey the steersman properly.' J. Janssen, *De Die quo Nero Claudius Drusus natus est*, collects evidence to show that the day lies between the end of March and the Kalends of August 38 B.C. C. Brakman, *Sidoniana*, contributes some critical notes on Sidonius. J. Janssen, *Quam aetatem significet vox quae est Puer*, cites from Suet. *Cal.* 8 a quotation from a letter of Augustus, in which reference is made to Gaius (Caligula) as 'puer,' written in May 14 A.D., when Gaius was less than two years old. Suetonius also mentions that about a year before the birth of Gaius Caligula there was born to Germanicus and Agrippina a child also called Gaius, who died of course before the younger Gaius was born. S. speaks of his 'amabilis pueritia,' and Bergk

wanted to alter the text on the ground that 'pueritia' could not be used in reference to so young a child. The letter of Aug. shows this to be incorrect. J. J. Hartmann has a note on Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 26. Here MSS. give 'nec graue manumissis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem per quod adsecuti sint: at criminum manifestos merito ad seruitutem retrahi quos beneficia non mutauissent [*al. commutauissent*].' H. rejects both readings, considering that T. is referring neither to bad slaves, whom manumission failed to make good, nor to good slaves, whom it made bad, but to hypocrites, whom it revealed in their true colours. Hence he suggests 'nudauissent.' There are also notes on Tac. *Ann.* I. 1; Phaedr. *Fab.* VIII. 10 sqq.; Lucr. V. 1016; Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 46; Hist. III. 26; Hdt. I. 91; Plato, *Comuin.* p. 216A. J. J. Hartmann also contributes an elegiac poem entitled *Silentium* in honour of the celebration of November 11, 1919, in this country.

Hermes. LV. 3. 1920.

R. Philippon, *Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit*. A continuation of P.'s articles on the Herculaneum papyri. J. Geffcken, *Religionsgeschichtliches in der Historia Augusta*. On the relation of the *scriptores hist. Aug.* to Christianity. The authors were pagans of the Theodosian period. Their aim is to represent the earlier emperors as indulgent towards the early Christians in order to suggest a like indulgence towards themselves under a government that was now officially Christian, E. Hohl, *Über den Ursprung der Historia Augusta*. An endeavour to find points of contact between this work and the Roman aristocratic families of the Theodosian period. K. J. Beloch, *Hipparchos und Themistocles*. MISCELLANEOUS: A. Rosenberg shows from an inscription that, under Gallienus Cilicia, a former senatorial province, was governed by an *eques*. F. Berdolet, on Lysias *περὶ σηκοῦ*, § 12. U. Wilcken recants his view that *κη* in the subscription to the Didymus papyrus is a cardinal number. He now agrees with Leo that it is an ordinal. O. Weinreich on *Ἁίρ Offerings to Helios*. E. Hedicke on Dion. Hal. *Ῥωμ. Ἀρχ.* v. 70 would read *ἦν δ' ἄρα ἡ κρείττων ἀρχὴ τῆς κατὰ νόμους τυραννίδος*. He also discusses confusions resulting from an interchange of leaves in Fronto's *Strategemata*.

LVI. 1. 1921.

F. Jacoby, *Das Prooemium des Lucretius*. An exhaustive discussion and analysis of the introduction to the first book. J. rejects all theories of dislocation. K. Münscher, *Metrische Beiträge* (continued from LIV. p. 1 sqq.). A long and valuable examination of a number of simple metres which enter into the structure of longer metres, e.g. the glykoneion, anacreonteion, enhoplios, telesilleion, and reizianum. M. analyzes the alcaic stanza on these lines. MISCELLANEOUS: W. Otto, *Das 'Thor der Audienzen'*. Further illustrations of the *χρηματιστικὸς πυλὼν* discussed in LV. 222. K. Praechter, on Diog. Laert. X. 16, defends in D.'s epigram the traditional reading *πρῶτος ἀποφθίμενος* against Usener's *τοῦτος ἀποφθ.* He also discusses Lucr. V. 165-180.

Revue de Philologie. XLIV. 2. 1920.

Opens with a brief notice of Paul Lejay, one of the joint-editors, who died on June 13, 1920. P. Lejay, *Appius Claudius Caecus*. Lejay was engaged on a history of Roman literature on the same scale as the large history of Greek literature by the Croisets. He was proposing to discuss at length in the *Revue* such problems as were suggested to him in the course of his task. This article deals exhaustively with the political career of Appius and with his literary work. L. Parmentier, *Notes sur l'Héraclès d'Euripide*. A discussion of the views of Wilamowitz, Murray, and other scholars. REVIEW: Lesquier's *L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (published in the *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Institute of Cairo*, 1918).

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